ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/hiatryofchristia0000pier

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

"SUFFER THE LITTLE CHILDREN TO COME UNTO ME, AND FORBID THEM NOT." (Matt. xix, 14.) (School of Rembrandt.)

© Hanfstaengle.

HISTORY of CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

BY

PIERRE J. MARIQUE, PD.D., PH.D.

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

Volume I.

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY PRESS

NEW YORK

1924

Copyright, 1924 by Fordham University
Fordham University Press
Printed in the United States of America.

6777

To

My Wife

For Twenty-Five Years

Devoted Life Companion

This Book

Is Affectionately Dedicated

PREFACE

The present volume, the first one of a series on the history of education, deals with Christian education from the beginning of the Christian era to the fifteenth century.

In the treatment of the subject the author has deemed it proper not to confine himself to the description and discussion of school systems and class room practices. The school, undoubtedly, has been a very potent factor in furthering intellectual education and progress, but the educative process extends far beyond its confines. It begins in the family circle with the rearing of the infant by its mother, the influence upon the child of the home environment, the training in obedience, the learning of the mother tongue, which is the first agency for intellectual education and, with family intercourse, the natural channel for the transmission of beliefs, traditions, customs, experiences and views of life. The process goes on beyond the family circle, gaining in breadth all the while, with the widening of the child's environment, his coming into contact with new forms of life, new forms of teaching and discipline, one of which, not always the most important, is the school. A history of education which is limited to an exposition of school theories and practices is at best, in the author's opinion, a history of the science and art of education; it considers but one of the many forces which have contributed to shaping education in the past and it is bound to convey to the student a narrow, if not a distorted view of the subject.

That is particularly true of Christian education, especially during the centuries under consideration in this volume. Though herself a most generous patron of learning, the Church, in fulfilling her mission to "go and teach all nations" has never thought of limiting her educative influence to the school. In point of fact, the school, in the modern sense of the word, was entirely out of the question when the Church had to educate to Christian ideals, first

the masses of the Roman world and later on the northern Barbarians. Even after Christian schools had become very common in the latter part of the Middle Ages, they formed but a small part of the mediaeval educational system and, though accessible to all, ministered only to those preparing for the professions; the rest of the population received their preparation for life through agencies better adapted to their various callings than was the school. These considerations have led the author to introduce into this volume many features not usually included in a history of education. His aim has been to give an account of early Christian and mediaeval education as a whole, with its proper historical setting.

The work is based partly on original sources, which have been resorted to whenever this was possible, and partly on a wide range of modern literature, both general and special, bearing on the subject. Every chapter is followed by a list of a few sources and modern references on the topics dealt with therein. To each chapter has also been appended a list of questions for discussion which, it is hoped, will increase the teaching value of the book.

The author is deeply grateful to the Rev. Edward P. Tivnan, S.J., President of Fordham University and the Rev. R. Rush Rankin, S.J., Dean of the Graduate School, for many useful suggestions and their hearty encouragement; to the Rev. Moorhouse I. X. Millar, S.J., and to the Rev. Charles J. Deane, S.J., of the department of history, for their kindly and inspiring criticism of several sections of the book; above all he gratefully acknowledges his heavy debt to the Rev. Francis P. LeBuffe, S.J., who generously gave so much of his time to the revision of the manuscript and the reading of the proofs, and whose kindly advice has assisted him on so many occasions.

To the author's daughter, Miss Marie-Thérèse Marique, the volume owes not a little of what interest it may possess.

Hers was the task of preparing the illustrations which she has selected at the cost of not a little time, patience and artistic discrimination, from the splendid collection of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, to whose staff the author takes this opportunity of expressing his gratitude for their may courtesies.

Pierre J. Marique.

New York, December 8, 1923.

CONTENTS

PART I.—EARLY CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	The Beginning of Christianity	3-26
	The Roman World:	
	Frontiers and Population	3
	Government	7
	Commerce and Industry	8
	Culture	10
	The Dark Side of the Picture	13
	The Beginnings of Christianity:	
	The Work of Christ	17
	The Propagation of Christianity	19
II.	Early Christian Education	27-52
	The Work of Christ as a Teacher	27
	The Constitution of the Church	33
	Early Christian Schools	36
	Christianity and the Position of Women	42
	The Fathers of the Church	44

PART II.—MEDIAEVAL EDUCATION

CHAPTER		PAGE
III.	The New Western World	55-69
	The Decline of the Roman Empire	55
	The Coming of New Peoples	56
	Who the Teutons were	59
	The Spread of Christianity outside the Roman World	61
	Impress of Christianity on the Newcomers	63
	Monasticism	65
IV.	Western Monasticism	70-91
	The Rule of St. Benedict	70
	General Educative Influence of the Rule	72
	Contributions to Western Industry and Government	73
	The Preservation of Learning	77
	Monastic Schools	82
	Monastic Literary Production	87
	The Convents	88

CHAPTER		PAGE
V.	The Carlovingian Revival	92-110
	Charlemagne's Empire	92
	Charlemagne's Aim	94
	Revival of Learning	95
	Eminent Educators	103
	The Revival in England	109
VI.	Forces at Work Towards a Greater Revival	111-142
	Mohammedan Influence in the West	111
	Feudalism	115
	Chivalry and its Education	118
	The Holy Roman Empire	121
	The Crusades	124
	The Rise of City Life	126
	Artistic Revival	128
	The Rise of National Languages and Literatures	131
	New Religious Orders	133
	The Mediaeval School System	137
VII.	Industrial Life and Education	143-160
	Social and Economic Conditions in Early Middle Ages	143
	The Beginnings of Industrial Life	148
	The Guilds	150
	Industrial Education	155
VIII.	Scholasticism and Mysticism	161-184
	Origin and Development of Scholasticism	161
	Nature of Scholasticism	167
	The Scholastic Method	169
	The Content of Scholasticism	172
	A Brief Estimate of Scholasticism	176
	Mysticism and its Education	178
IX.	Mediaeval Universities	185-200
	Origin	185
	Organization	188
	Privileges and Immunities	192
	Degrees	194
	Nature of the Instruction	195
	Method	196
	Value and Influence of the Mediaeval Universities	197
Summary		201
Index		205

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

		FACING PAGE
Fig. 1.	*Frontispiece.* Christ and the Little Children—Title Page	
Fig. 2.	Map of the Roman Empire with roads	5
Fig. 3.	Maison Carrée	8
Fig. 4.	Pont du Gard	13
Fig. 5.	Sermon on the Mount	28
Fig. 6.	A mosaic representing a Bishop of the sixth century	34
Fig. 7.	Map of the Germanic Settlements	56
Fig. 8.	The Baptism of Clovis	58
Fig. 9.	A Monastery	75
Fig. 10.	Map of the Empire of Charlemagne	93
Fig. 11.	The Cloister of Aix-la-Chapelle	99
Fig. 12.	A detail of the Alcazar, Seville	113
Fig. 13.	A mediaeval Castle	116
Fig. 14.	Ceremony of Knighthood	120
Fig. 15.	Mediaeval Pilgrims	124
Fig. 16.	A Crusader	126
Fig. 17.	Façade of a Basilica	128
Fig. 18.	Interior of a Basilica	129
Fig. 19.	Detail of the Cathedral of Chartres	130
Fig. 20.	A mediaeval City	154
Fig. 21.	A Guild Hall	158
Fig. 22.	St. Thomas Aquinas	166
Fig. 23.	Professor lecturing	190
Fig. 24.	A Disputation	196

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

General Histories of Education.

1. Cubberly, E.P., *The History of Education, Readings in History of Education,* 2 Vols. New York, 1920.
2. Davidson, Thomas, *History of Education.* New York. 1900.
3. Graves, F.P., *A History of Education,* 3 Vols. New York, 1913.
4. McCormick, P., *History of Education.* Washington. 1915.
5. Monroe, Paul, *Text Book in the History of Education.* New York, 1909.
6. Schmid, K.A., *Geschichte der Erziehung vom Anfang an bis auf unsere Zeit.* 5 Vols. Stuttgart, 1884-1902.

Bibliographies, Cyclopedias, Magazines.

1. *American Journal of Education.* (Henry Barnard, Ed.) 31 Vols. Syracuse, 1902.
2. *Bibliothek der katholischen Pädagogik.* (F. X. Kuntz, Ed.) 14 Vols. Freiburg, 1888-1902.
3. *Catholic Encyclopedia.* 16 Vols. New York, 1907-1914.
4. *Cyclopedia of Education.* (Paul Monroe, Ed.) 5 Vols. New York, 1911-1913.
5. *Dictionnaire de Pédagogie et d'Instruction primaire.* (F. Buisson, Ed.) 2 Vols. Paris, 1886-1887.
6. *Encyklopädisches Handbuch der Pädagogik.* (G. W. Rein, Ed.) 7 Vols. Langensalza, 1895-1899.
7. *Lexikon der Pädagogik.* (E. M. Roloff, Ed.) 5 Vols. Freiburg, 1913.
8. *Sammlung der bedeutendsten pädagogischen Schriften aus alter und neuer Zeit.* (Schulz, Gansen and (Keller, Eds.) 28 Vols. Paderborn, 1888-1902.
9. *Syllabus of Lectures on the History of Education,* by E. P. Cubberly, New York 1904.

PART I.

EARLY CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

CHAPTER 1

THE BEGINNING OF CHRISTIANITY

The Roman World

Frontiers and population. At the death of Augustus (14 A.D.) the Roman Empire extended from the Atlantic on the west to the Euphrates and Arabia on the east, from the North Sea, the Rhine and Danube on the north to the African and Arabian Deserts on the south. The only additions to this territory, after Augustus, were made by Claudius (47-54) and Trajan (98-117). The first carried the northern frontiers to the foot of the Scottish Highlands and the latter conquered Dacia (present day Roumania), Armenia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia; but most of Trajan's Asiatic conquests were given up by his successor as was also Dacia in the following century, although at that time it was thoroughly Romanized in speech, culture and even in blood. Thus, if we except the change which took place in the reign of Claudius, the frontiers of the Roman Empire remained practically as Augustus had left them and they were to be those of the Christian world for at least four centuries. Christian communities were founded beyond these frontiers, but on the whole, until the time of the barbarian invasions, the boundaries of the Christian world were those of the Roman Empire.

The boundaries of the empire became those of the Christian world.

The population of the Empire can only be a matter of conjecture. Probably a conservative estimate for the first

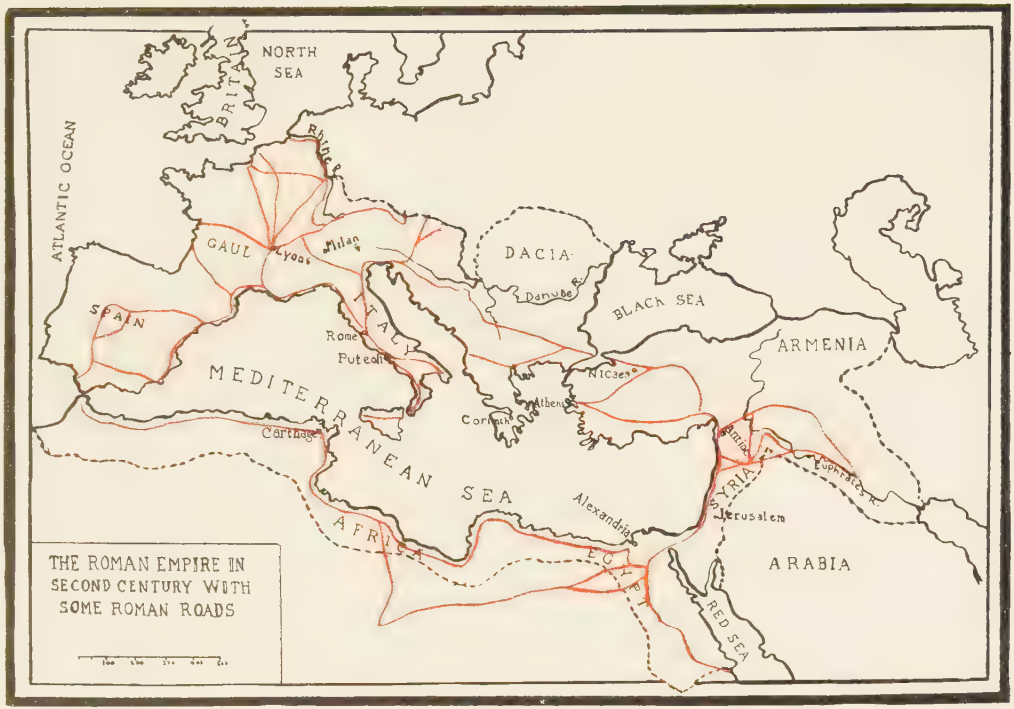
century would be 85,000,000 including slaves, of whom there was a very large percentage. This number may have increased to 100,000,000, possibly 110,000,000 by the middle of the second century, when the population reached its high water mark.[1] The reign of Marcus Aurelius marks the beginning of a steady decline, the result of a number of causes: the recurrence at brief intervals of the great Asiatic plague[2] which swept over the Empire in the year 166; the civil wars[3] of the third century; the inroads of the Barbarians beyond the Rhine and Danube; a steady decline in material prosperity and an ever increasing burden of taxation; above all the moral disease, that struck at the very fount of national life.

The population

No impending calamity however seemed to threaten the Roman Empire in the first century. To all appearances it was full of life and vigour and could look forward to a long period of prosperity. The "closing of the temple of Janus" by Octavius in 29 B. C. had in all reality been the beginning of a new era—an era of peace, such as the world had not enjoyed for many centuries before, nor was to enjoy for many centuries after. It was during this period of peace and great material prosperity, from the battle of Actium (31 B. C.) to the end of the reign of Marcus Aurelius (180 A. D.), that the process of Romanization mainly took place. Augustus had found a huge conglomeration of jarring races, religions, customs, laws, languages. By the beginning of the second century, all these discordant elements were moulded into one great people: Asiatics and Africans, Greeks and Britons, Gauls and Spaniards now

made up of many elements

1. On this point see Davis, W.S., Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome, p. 44.
2. One half the population of the Empire, we are told, was carried off by the plague.
3. From 193 to 284 there were more than twenty emperors, barrack emperors, set up by the praetorians or the legions, and engaged in frequent civil war.


NORTH SEA
BRITAIN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Rhine R.
GAUL
Lyons
Milan
DACIA
Danube R.
BLACK SEA
SPAIN
ITALY
Rome
Puteoli
ARMENIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Nicaea
Athens
Corinth
Carthage
Damascus
Euphrates R.
SYRIA
Alexandria
Jerusalem
AFRICA
EGYPT
ARABIA
RED SEA
THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN SECOND CENTURY WITH SOME ROMAN ROADS

considered themselves as thoroughly "Romani" as the inhabitants of the Italian Peninsula. This unification of the Roman world was accomplished,—not by violent measures, —but by good government, by a common code of laws, by a splendid system of highways[1] which facilitated trade and communication, and by the use of a common language, Latin, though Greek never lost its preponderating influence in the East.

lived mostly in towns

The bulk of the population lived in small towns, each one of which was the centre of the surrounding farming district, from which the inhabitants derived their sustenance, but cities, even large cities were not lacking. The population of Rome at the time of her greatest splendor was very near,—if not over,—2,000,000. Alexandria, the commercial center of the East, had a population of at least 600,000, Antioch probably as many, Caesarea in Asia Minor, Carthage and Milan, at least 300,000 each, Corinth, Ephesus, Pergamum, Athens, Lyons, 200,000 if not more. In the larger cities, the population was a mixture of many races and conditions, not unlike "the melting pot" to be found in many an American city to-day. People flocked to these great centers, not only from the surrounding country, but from every part of the Empire. A common feature of most of these larger cities, was the presence of a Jewish colony which not infrequently became the nucleus of the Christian community.[2] In this as in other respects, Rome was typical of the provinces. Of the huge motley crowd which formed her population, probably as many as 500,000 were slaves, mostly foreigners brought in from every province: Egypt, Syria, Thrace, Gaul, Britain, Spain or even from beyond the boundaries of the Empire, after any successful inroad

but there were large cities

Rome

1. See map 1.
2. See Acts of the Apostles ii; also Fouard, C., St. Peter and the First Years of Christianity, pp. 38-58; Morisson, W.D., The Jews under Roman Rule.

into so-called barbarian territory. Slaves were to be found in large numbers in the palaces of the wealthy who liked to be surrounded by an army of servants, and in every branch of Roman industry. The most obvious consequence of this importation of slave labor, was to close many avenues for an honest living to large numbers of free artisans. Another and no less formidable competitor of the free laborer, was the freedman who seems to have been on the whole a very industrious, if not over scrupulous individual. Many freedmen came to be wealthy and even to rise to positions of trust and great responsibility in the imperial administration.[1] The old Italian aristocracy was dying out. In its place there had sprung up a new aristocracy of wealth, whose members were practically the sole land owners in Italy and had complete monopoly of industry and commerce. Like the old aristocracy, the sturdy Italian middle class of Republican days had practically disappeared by the beginning of the Empire. The economic changes following the Roman wars of conquest[2] had compelled the Italian peasantry to sell their farms. Thousands went into the provinces in search of new homesteads; the rest, unwilling or unable to emigrate drifted into the Italian cities, especially Rome, only to find that the city industrial system had no place for them. The result was that they and their sons were ultimately driven into the degraded city rabble of starving artisans, idlers, professional beggars and worse, who were now all that remained in Italy of the once thrifty, hard working, self-respecting "Populus Romanus".

1. Two freedmen, Narcissus and Pallas, ruled the empire in Claudius' reign.

2. The vast landed estates which the nobility now owned in Sicily and Africa could supply the Italian cities with grain cheaper than the small Italian farmer could produce and the competition of the large landowner at home made other forms of agriculture just as unprofitable.

Government. In outward form the government was still republican; the senate deliberated and the offices of the old constitution were preserved. In reality this government was an absolute monarchy. The emperor concentrated in his own hands the most important powers of the old Republic; through his tribunician power he was master of the city; as proconsul throughout the Empire he governed the provinces as he pleased; as Imperator he was Commander-in-Chief of the legions, as Pontifex Maximus, the head of the state religion, and through his censorian power he could degrade any senator and thus make himself the absolute master of the senate. Even this outward appearance of a republic disappeared entirely in the fourth century, with the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine and the government became in outward form what it was in all reality, an absolute Asiatic monarchy.[1] In the larger cities like Rome and Alexandria local independence soon faded away; their government was placed in the hands of officials appointed by the emperor or the senate. In the smaller cities however, a larger measure of self government was preserved for a long time, as we see from the political posters found on the houses of Pompei. Each year the popular assembly would meet to elect the two consuls or mayors of the city,[2] the aediles or heads of what we call to-day the police and public works departments, the quaestors in charge of the public treasury and the city magistrates. Local autonomy stopped there. The government of the provinces was entrusted to officials appointed by the emperor and responsible to him for the keeping of the peace, the levy of taxes and the administration of justice. Provincial assemblies were sometimes called together, it is true, but only to seek information or to receive advice, and as time went on, the

The government autocratic

with some measure of local autonomy

1. See Bury, J.B., History of the Later Roman Empire, Vol. I.
2. See Capes, W.W., The Early Empire, pp. 193-198.

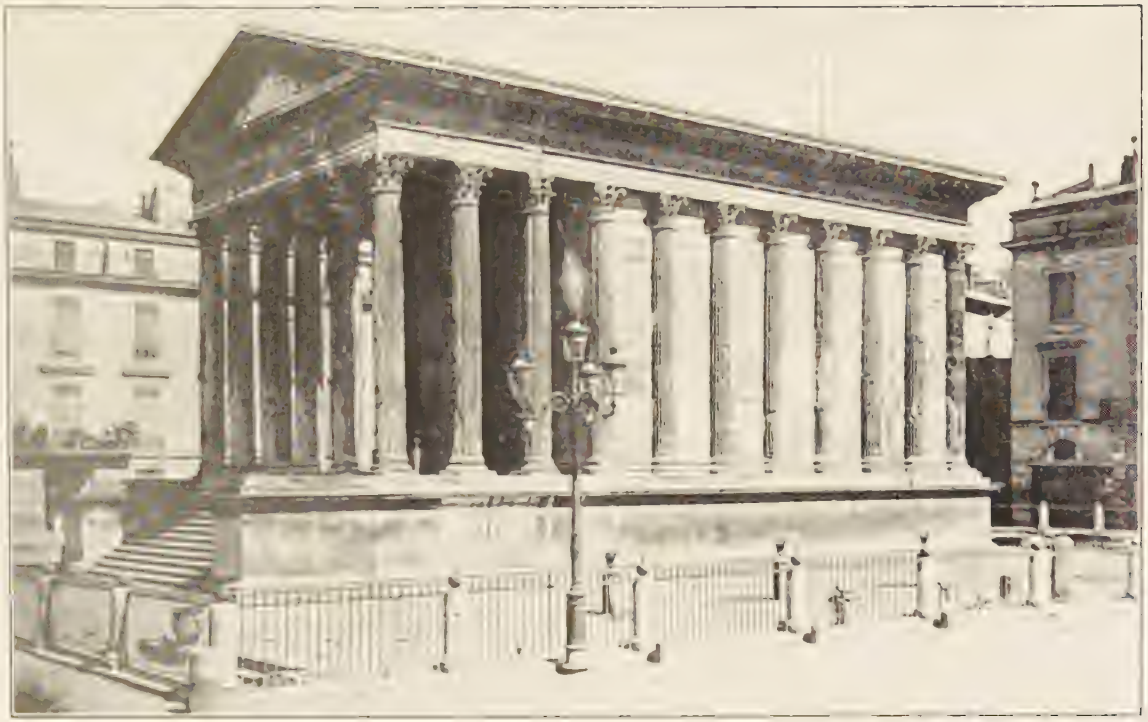
central government showed an ever increasing tendency to dispense even with this phantom of popular representation. The protection of the Empire was insured by a standing army,[1] almost wholly stationed on the more exposed frontiers, on the Rhine, the Danube and the Euphrates. Only a few thousands were kept within the provinces for public purposes. These troops were a body of highly disciplined mercenaries recruited mostly from the provinces or even the barbarian frontier districts near which they were stationed.[2] In times of peace they were employed on public works such as the draining of marshes, the clearing of forests, the construction of dikes, aqueducts, roads and bridges. After completing their term of twenty years in the army, these veterans were given grants of land and were settled in colonies which helped materially the fusion of the various races of the Empire.

The army an agency of civilization

Commerce and industry. A letter attributed to Hadrian, (117-138) says that in Alexandria "no one is idle, some work glass, some make paper, some weave linen; the only god is money".[3] Tertullian, writing about 200 A. D. expresses a similar opinion. "Every day the world becomes more beautiful, more wealthy, more splendid. No corner remains inaccessible. Every spot is the scene of trade. Recent deserts bloom into verdure. Forests give way to tilled acres; wild beasts retreat before domestic animals. Everywhere are houses, people, cities. Everywhere there is life."[4] These two quotations are characteristic of the industrial condition of the Roman world during the first two centuries of the Christian era. If agriculture was on

Great prosperity

1. With the auxiliaries and naval forces the strength of this standing army may have reached four hundred thousand men.
2. These barbarian mercenaries came to make the chief strength of the legions in the fourth century.
3. Quoted by Davis, W.S., The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome, p. 109.
4. Tertullian, De Anima, 30.



Maison Carrée, Nîmes, France.
(A Roman temple dedicated to the sons of Augustus.)

the decline in Italy, it was in a very flourishing condition in the provinces, especially in Egypt and northern Africa, which had become the granary of Rome. Mines were thriving in many parts of the Empire. Spain was the seat of much copper and lead mining, Gaul supplied copper and iron, Britain, silver, lead and iron; from Greece came marbles, from Dalmatia iron ore, from the Danube provinces gold, iron and salt, from Elba most of the iron ore that kept busy the foundries at Puteoli, the great Italian emporium. The western provinces produced large quantities of timber, hides, furs, pork, cheese and salt meat. Syria was famous in the whole Empire for its silk and linen; the glass and paper industry of Alexandria has already been alluded to; the ancient cities of Sidon and Tyre had lost none of their renown for the manufacture of purple and the woolen industry was flourishing in Asia Minor and Italy.

in agriculture

industry

Trade by sea and land kept pace with agriculture and industry. Gades, Carthage, Puteoli in the west, Corinth, Antioch, Alexandria, in the east were the centers of a very extensive traffic, not only with every part of the Roman world, but even with the regions far beyond its boundaries. It is known that Roman traders visited Ireland and the countries bordering on the Baltic, and that they had penetrated far into Africa and the East whence they reaped a rich harvest of profits. From Africa they imported negro slaves, apes, ivory, marble, and wild beasts for the arena; from Persia, India and Arabia, carpets, morocco leathers, spices, medicines, and precious stones. Even far distant China seems to have been fairly well known to the ubiquitous traders from Alexandria and Antioch. A Roman writer of the second century speaks of a caravan path leading to the Chinese city of Issedon, thence

commerce

to the capital of the "Seres",[1] and Chinese annalists of the fourth century give a catalogue of western articles brought into their country through Canton.[2] Silk was of course the staple Chinese export and must have been far in excess of the value of the imports from the Roman Empire, for the Asiatics on the whole, sold much to the Roman merchant and bought little, as is shown by the statement of Pliny the Elder, that India alone made an annual drain of 200,000,000 sestertii on the metallic currency of the Empire.[3]

Important as was this foreign traffic, it was insignificant as compared to the domestic trade, for the Empire, it must be remembered, was no less self supporting in the main commodities of life than are the United States to-day. Much of this internal trade was carried on by small fleets of little merchantmen that kept close to the coast as long as possible. The weather however, practically closed the sea route from early fall to late spring, so that most of the domestic trade was carried on by land, where it was facilitated by a splendid system of highways, radiating from the heart of the Empire to the frontiers, with numerous ramifications in every province.

Culture. Before the third century B. C. there was no Latin literature to speak of; the language itself was still rough, still subject to many alterations, still unfit for artistic or scientific expression. After the first Punic war it began to feel the influence of Greek, not only as it was spoken in the neighboring colonies of Magna Graecia but as it was imported in greater purity from the mother country itself. It was moulded into a literary language by the labours of poets, orators, historians, grammarians, like Andronicus,

1. The Chinese.
2. Davis, W.S., The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome, p. 91.
3. Ibid., p. 88.

Plautus, Fabius Pictor and the Gracchi.[1] By the beginning of the Empire ,the once rough, uncouth idiom had become the wonderful instrument of thought which we admire in the masterpieces of the Augustan age. History abandoning the dry annalistic character which it had in the Republican days, assumed the more complete and more beautiful form in which it appears in the works of Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Suetonius and Tacitus. Eloquence at its height in the days of Cicero, had lost its political importance and better inspiration with the decline of freedom; nevertheless it continued to attract considerable attention in the form of legal pleadings, declamations, rhetorical displays; its theory was studied and its technique perfected in treatises such as the "*De Institutione*" of Quintilian.[2] Philosophy,—Stoic, Epicurean, and Academic,[3]—attracted many students and found some able exponents in Cicero, Lucretius, Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius. Poetry had many brilliant votaries: Catullus, Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Juvenal to mention only the more famous.[4]

Remarkable achievements in literature

For many Romani, however, Greek still was and would remain the literary language par excellence. As it has been remarked before, Greek was the language mostly used in the East, and throughout the Empire it was as much as Latin the language of the upper classes. The golden age of Greek literature and Greek art had long since passed into history, but the Greek genius still retained a remarkable vitality, if not in the mother country, at least among the hellenized Asiatics and Africans. To this period belong the historians Appian and Arrian, the moralist Plutarch, the physician Galen, and the astronomer Ptolemy.

1. See Simcox, G.A., History of Latin Literature.
2. The best and most systematic exposition of the entire field of education by a Roman. See Monroe, P., Source Book in the History of Education, Pt. II.
3. See Turner, W., History of Philosophy, Ch. XVIII.
4. See Simcox, G.A., History of Latin Literature.

The center of Greek culture was no longer Athens; her intellectual supremacy had passed to the other side of the Mediterranean, to the city founded in the fourth century B. C. by Alexander and which had become the commercial and educational center of the world. It was to this city, Alexandria, to her Museum, that scholars and students flocked from all the surrounding countries.

science

"Here the naturalists found a botanical garden, a vast zoölogical collection, and an anatomical building; the astronomers, an observatory; the littérateurs, grammarians, and philologists, a splendid library, which contained during the first centuries of our era, 700,000 volumes. Here Euclid wrote (about 290) his Elements of Geometry, his treatises on Harmony, Optics and Catoptrics; here Eratosthenes, the royal librarian under Ptolemy Philadelphus, pursued his wonderful astronomical, geographical, and historical labours; here Apollonius of Perga published his treatises on Conic Sections; here Arystillus and Timocharus made the observations which led to the discovery of the precession of the equinoxes by the astronomer Hipparchus; here Ptolemy wrote the Almagest, which remained the authoritative system of astronomy until the time of Copernicus, and his Geography which was used in the schools of Europe for fourteen centuries. . . . . .

On the other hand, literature and art flourished under the careful protection of the Court. Literature and its history, philology and criticism, became sciences. The Hebrew Bible and other books of Oriental origin were translated into Greek. Buddhists and Jews, Greeks and Egyptians, mingled together bringing with them the most diverse forms of religion." [1]

Literature, philosophy, architecture, mechanics, law and medicine were taught in other "universities" at Rome, Massilia, Athens, Rhodes, Tarsus, Pergamum. Libraries were very common. Grammar schools, corresponding somewhat to our high schools, were to be found in most provincial towns and in a few of these there were schools of a still higher grade, the rhetorical schools giving instruction and training in oratory. Practically every town had one or several schools of a lower grade,[2] corresponding to our elementary schools. While it could not be said that the Empire had a school system in the modern sense

education

1. Weber, A., History of Philosophy, p. 161.
2. See Monroe, P., A Text Book in the History of Education, Ch. IV.

Pont du Gard, near Nîmes, France.
(Aqueduct built by Antoninus Pius in second century A. D.)

of the term, the government, both imperial and local, contributed to the support of at least the higher institutions of learning by means of subsidies and by granting privileges to their instructors. Unfortunately all these educational facilities were for the benefit of the upper and middle classes, though occasionally some bright boys from the lower class whose exceptional abilities would attract the attention of some wealthy patron, might receive a good education. The bulk of the population was steeped in dense ignorance.

art

Like literature, Roman art had attained its perfection in the early Empire and found its most prolific expression in architecture. Emperors and governors of provinces, cities and private individuals seemed to vie with one another in lavish expenditure on beautiful buildings. Temples, palaces, villas, theaters, circuses, columns, triumphal arches rose as if by magic, not only in Rome and Italy, but also in the provinces, especially in Spain and Gaul where so many remains of this once glorious past, still meet the tourists' eye to-day.[1]

The dark side of the picture. Rome had paid a heavy price for fame and conquest. She had lost her political liberty; she had left the flower of her citizen body on the battlefield or lost them to the provinces and she had inherited all the vices of the conquered nations. The old republican virtues, piety, fortitude, bravery, sobriety had given way to sneering cynicism, love of ease, self-indulgence, gluttony and other unspeakable excesses. The stern simplicity of former days, in dress, house furnishings, public and private festivals, had been replaced by sumptuous and even extravagant luxury. The material prosperity of the Empire, which mostly benefited a few thousand families, was purchased at the cost of intense suffering for millions

The old Roman virtues had disappeared

1. See Lübke, W., History of Art, Ch. III.

of slaves. A few slaves, it is true, enjoyed a life of comparative ease and comfort as secretaries, physicians, teachers, musicians, or menials in the service of the wealthy, but the vast majority of them were branded, shackled laborers, clothed in rags, toiling day after day from sunrise to sunset and living at night in underground dungeons. The law gave them very little protection if any, against the harsh treatment of masters, who more often than not were cruel; their children, if allowed to live, were doomed to slavery, and when they fell sick or became old they were allowed to die of starvation or exposure. Worse still than this life of misery and suffering was the moral degradation of these poor wretches. Paganism had even less regard, if possible, for the moral uplift of the slave than for his material well-being. It had no consolation to offer him in this world or reward in the next, and the very sight of Roman corruption could only act as an incentive to the native vices of the slave.[1] Scarcely better than the lot of the slaves was that of the millions of citizens living in abject poverty in all the cities of the Empire. Rome alone had hundreds of thousands of these hungry poor who had come to look upon gifts of money and doles of bread from the State as their birthright. Many of these paupers earned some money besides, but the very certainty of State support was in itself a premium on idleness, and its long train of mischief and vices. The State not only supplied the populace with money and grain, it also provided shows in circus and theater at which every one was admitted free of charge. Some of these shows might be considered an innocent amusement, but the greater part consisted of unspeakable horrors. Year after year in the circus thousands of men were exposed to the fury of wild beasts or pitted against

Slavery

Pauperism

The circus and theater

1. See Blair, W., Inquiry into the State of Slavery amongst the Romans.

one another in mortal combat, to the delight not only of the rabble but of the most highly educated Romans, even delicate women of the aristocracy. Bets were made by the spectators on their favorites as they do to-day at the race-track or in the ring; there were connoisseurs in all the refinements of the art of suffering and dying and one of the best roads to popularity for State officials was to devise new methods of combat, each more fantastic and cruel than the other. The theater was another school of immorality whose influence was no less brutalizing than the circus, for the pagan audience was spared none of the realities demanded by the action of the play, however cruel or nauseating. This public disregard for all sense of decency, this callousness to human suffering, this utter contempt for human life, betray a moral degradation, nowhere else to be found in history amidst such political, artistic and material achievements.

Moral degeneracy

Woman was now free from the bondage in which the Roman law had kept her so long. Women were to be found in many trades and professions but instead of using their newly found freedom in the cause of moral reform, they contributed their ample share to the general depravity of the age. Divorce had reached such scandalous proportions that it was said of some Roman ladies that they reckoned their age not by the names of the consuls but by those of their husbands; child murder always tolerated under the Roman law was in general vogue. This practice of infanticide together with that of deliberate criminal celibacy, became such a menace to the population of the Empire that laws were enacted to check the evil: laws imposing a special tax on bachelors and granting privileges to the fathers of three children. Those laws, however, failed, as they always do, to produce any moral improvement. Moral regeneration cannot be effected by State laws, nor could it be accomplished by the religion or philosophy of Pagan

society. The Asiatic religions, in the grosser forms received into the Roman Pantheon, were nothing else than a cloak for the coarsest tendencies of human nature. The rich and beautiful Greek mythology was a source of inspiration to the poet and the artist; it was an occasion for beautiful festivals and merrymaking, but it had, and could have very little influence on the private conduct of individuals. The old Roman religion, while fostering some social and individual virtues, was essentially of a practical nature, a means of driving hard bargains with the gods for the success of every private or public act. Like all other pagan religions, it had little to do with personal morality. "The chief objects of pagan religion were to foretell the future, to explain the universe, to avert calamity, and to obtain the assistance of the gods. They contained no instruments of moral teaching, analogous to our institution of preaching, or to the moral preparation for the reception of the Sacraments, or to Confession or to the reading of the Bible, or to religious education or to united prayer for spiritual benefits. To make men virtuous was no more the function of the priest than of the physician."[1] If pagan religion could not improve morals, pagan philosophy was just as powerless. Of the many systems of philosophy which had sprung from the fertile soil of Greek speculation, the most popular ones in the Roman world were Epicureanism and Stoicism. In practice, if not in theory, the first one led to crass materialism. Stoicism, in its Roman form, was a sort of moral idealism.[2] Its motto was: "Virtue for its own sake". We should do our duty, said the Stoic, because it is dictated by reason,

could not be checked by pagan religion

1. Lecky, W.E., History of European Morals, Ch. IV.

2. Seneca, (4-65 A.D.), Epictetus (d. 100 A.D.), and Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A.D.) are the most famous representatives of this Roman Stoicism.

and because it alone can make us happy. The true sage is he that lives according to the laws implanted by nature in our conscience and discoverable in all of us through reason. Here we have the first limitation not only of Stoicism but of every system of philosophy, as an agency for moral education. Because it appeals essentially to reason, because it demands a keen and highly trained intellect, philosophy can only reach a few individuals; it cannot influence the masses. But philosophy unaided by religion has another, and even more serious drawback, in that it fails to supply the motives which impel to action the great majority of mankind. This second limitation of all philosophy is admirably set forth by Aristotle in the conclusion of his *Ethics:* "Now if arguments and theories were able by themselves to make people good, they would, in the words of Theognis, be entitled to receive high and great rewards, and it is with theories that we would have to provide ourselves. But the truth apparently is that, though they are strong enough to encourage and stimulate young men of liberal minds, though they are able to inspire with goodness a character that is naturally noble and sincerely loves the beautiful, they are incapable of converting the mass of men to goodness and beauty of character."

or philosophy

The Beginning of Christianity

The work of Christ. It was in this Roman Empire, bearing all the marks of external progress and internal degeneracy, that Jesus Christ, the God Man and Redeemer, was born during the reign of Octavianus Augustus.[1] The world was not wholly unprepared for His coming and the

1. "In the forty-second year of Octavian Augustus, when the whole world was at peace, Jesus Christ, eternal God and Son of the eternal Father, desirous to sanctify the world by His most merciful coming, was born in Bethlehem of Juda, having become man, of Mary the Virgin". (Entry of the birth of Our Savior in the Roman Martyrology). See Cath. Encyc. under Chronology and Dionysius Exiguus.

The coming of Christ was not unprepared

propagation of His kingdom. There were many, amongst the better class of pagans, who looked with horror and despair on the prevailing corruption and hoped for a deliverer. The worship of the true God and the knowledge of His moral law had been kept alive among the Jews, throughout the vicissitudes of their national life, not only in their homeland but in the Jewish colonies established in every part of the Empire. Many pagans through their contact with the Jews had embraced the worship of God and adopted the moral precepts and even the ceremonies of the Mosaic law. The teachings of the best pagan philosophers, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, had spread among the educated class ideas which prepared the way for Christianity. The propagation of the new religion was also furthered by the facilities for travel offered by the innumerable ships plying the Mediterranean and the splendid system of highways connecting the capital of the Empire with every province and its important cities; by the fact that a knowledge of Greek in the East and of Latin in the West was sufficient to preach and defend the Christian religion; finally the Roman private law had developed among the population a sense of justice which prepared the way for the acceptance of Christian morality.

His public life and death

When He was about thirty years of age, Jesus began His public life which was to last a little more than three years. He preached the Gospel or Good Tidings first in Galilee, then in Judea and Samaria. In His admirable Sermon on the Mount, He set forth the spirit of His moral law and He gave to mankind a living illustration of its perfection by the incomparable holiness of His life. He went about working miracles to prove His Divine mission, doing good to all, associating with all classes of people, conforming to all the innocent customs of the times, country and nation. Nothing human was foreign to Him except sin and evil. Finally after a bitter Passion He made

the supreme sacrifice of His life for the salvation of man.[1] From among His Followers, Christ chose twelve, when He called Apostles, and with whom He associated seventy-two Disciples. With untiring zeal He instructed and trained both Apostles and Disciples, but especially His Apostles who were to become the leaders of His Church. He equipped them with a firm and intelligent grasp of the doctrines of faith and morals. He strove to implant in their hearts truly apostolic virtues: humility, generosity, forbearance, detachment from temporal goods and the ties of kinship, industry, vigilance, patience and joy in persecution. Again and again He sent them on missionary errands and on their return He heard all they had done, and commended them for their success.[2] He gave them the power to preach His doctrine, to bind and to loose, to administer the Sacraments, to rule the Church. "All power is given to me in Heaven and on earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations." "As the Father hath sent me, I also send you. Whose sins you shall forgive they are forgiven and whose sins you shall retain they are retained."[3] Christ also appointed Peter as the supreme visible head of His Church, that it might be held together by some visible bond. To Peter and therefore to those who occupy His chair, the Sovereign Pontiffs, He gave full and absolute jurisdiction in the government of the Church. Finally the Lord promised to His Apostles that He would be with them until the consummation of time and that He would send the Holy Ghost who would teach them all truth and abide with them forever.

The Church founded by Christ

united in Peter

The propagation of Chrisianity. Thus was founded the new society, the Church of Christ, the "Kingdom of God

1. On the Life of Christ, see A. J. Maas, S.J., The Life of Jesus Christ, a very interesting and scholarly work on this subject.
2. Luke x, 17-24; Matt. xi, 25-30.
3. Matt. xxviii, 19; John xx, 21-23.

upon earth." On the day of the Ascension of our Lord, it numbered only a few hundred brethren, scattered in Galilee and Judea, but a few days later, following the preaching and miracle of St. Peter, its membership rose to several thousands, and before the end of the century the infant Church was to count its members by the hundreds of thousands. These early Christians were remarkable for their great piety, their mutual love and detachment from earthly possessions. They held everything in common, willingly dividing their goods for the benefit of those that were in need.

But the path of the Church was not to be a smooth one. At first the leaders of the Jews affected to ignore the growth of the Christian congregation; they seemed to believe that with the death of the Founder, His followers would scatter and His work would come to naught. But soon Pharisees and Sadducees had the mortification of discovering their error; they were incensed at seeing the number of the Nazarenes, as they called the Christians, rapidly increasing and the new faith gaining converts even amongst the Jewish priests. They succeeded in stirring up a persecution against the Christians who were scattered from Jerusalem into the adjacent cities of Judea, Samaria and even as far as Phoenicia, Syria and Cyprus. It was during this persecution that St. Stephen, the first of the glorious martyrs of Christ, was stoned to death. It was also during this first persecution that occurred the conversion of St. Paul. A hellenistic Jew from Tarsus in Cilicia, he was a rigid adherent of Pharisaism and had made himself conspicuous by his zeal against the Christians. He had taken part in the martyrdom of St. Stephen and was on his way to Damascus with a commission from the Sanhedrin to bring to trial the disciples who had taken refuge in that city, when he was converted by a vision,

grew rapidly in spite of Jewish opposition

the Lord appearing to him.[1] He was baptized shortly after but it was only three years later, after a long retirement in Arabia, as a preparation for his missionary work that he entered upon his long and glorious career as the Apostle of the Gentiles.

During the first seven or eight years, following the Ascension of Our Lord, the Apostles laboured mostly in Palestine, but their efforts were not altogether confined to that country. Eusebius tells us that even at this early date there was in Antioch a flourishing community which was visited by St. Peter during his apostolic journey through Syria. It was at Antioch that the followers of Christ who called themselves "Disciples of the Lord" and "Brethren" were first called Christians, a name probably given them by the Romans, since the Jews contemptuously called them Nazarenes or Galileans. A new persecution, stirred up by King Herod Agrippa (41-44) to placate the Jews, scattered the Apostles among all the nations, James the Less alone remaining at Jerusalem. St. Peter's missionary career was confined chiefly to Antioch and Rome; St. Paul's to Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece and finally Rome. The other Apostles laboured mostly in the East, where some of them carried the good tidings far beyond the limits of the Roman Empire.[2] At the close of the first century Christianity was firmly established in every country bordering on the Mediterranean; Christians were to be found, often in large numbers, not only in almost every city of the Empire but in many country districts, not only among the poor and the lowly but also among the wealthy and noble, even the high officials of the household of Caesar. Among the causes contributing to this rapid growth of the Church, there is to mention first and foremost its divine institution and the fact that Christianity satisfies the re-

Causes of the rapid growth of the Church

1. Acts of the Apostles ix, 1-18.
2. See Birkhaeuser, J.A., History of the Church, p. 25 and foll.

ligious cravings of the human soul and its desire for truth and happiness; then too the teachings of the new religion were proposed in such a simple form that they were intelligible to both educated and ignorant alike. Other causes of this wonderful growth were the miracles wrought by God on various occasions, the zeal of the converts for the propagation of their religion and finally the pure and holy life of the Faithful, especially their charity which compelled admiration from the pagans.

Persecutions and their causes

But the growth of the new religion was not to proceed unchallenged. The attitude of the educated Roman and of the government, which at first had been one of indifference and toleration, gradually changed to hatred and fierce opposition. That this would happen had been foretold by Christ to His disciples, and he had also shown them the real cause of this hatred and opposition. "Behold I send you as lambs among wolves. If they have persecuted Me, they will also persecute you." "If you had been of the world, the world would love its own; but because you are not of the world, therefore the world hateth you."[1] However there were some circumstances which explain, if they do not justify, Roman antagonism to Christianity. Chief among them was the close connection existing between religion and government in the Roman Empire. The worship of the gods was a State matter, regulated by law and intimately connected with private and public life. To refuse, as the Christians were in duty bound to do, to sacrifice to the gods, to swear by the genius of the Emperor, to recognize his authority as Pontifex Maximus, was to oppose the constitution of the Empire. To assert, as Christianity did, complete independence from the State in matters of religion was considered by the Romans as subversive of the political order. The fact that the Christians

1. John xv, 20; ibid. 19.

shunned the circus, the theater and all pagan festivities, that they submitted to many restrictions in matters of amusement, that they had secret meetings,[1] was interpreted by the heathen as hatred for the human race. Then too, malice, prejudice and the interests of entire classes, priests, soothsayers, artists, teachers, concurred to heap on the Christians the most slanderous accusations. Finally when the great public calamities began to harry the Empire,[2] there were many among the Pagans who believed that these calamities were caused by the neglect of the national religion, and the tolerance extended to the new sect. All these circumstances combined to stir up hatred and persecution against the Christians. For two hundred and fifty years, from the reign of Nero to that of Diocletian, there was seldom any time when they had not to suffer torture and death for their faith.[3] But as Tertullian says: the blood of the martyrs was the seed of Christians. The last and most systematic persecution, that of Diocletion, ended in a complete failure, and in 313 the Edict of Milan[4] granted full liberty to Christianity.

The young Church was not only harrassed by persecution but assailed with intellectual weapons by the pagan philo-

1. These nocturnal meetings, the result of persecution and a necessary precaution for the safe performance of religious duties, were under the ban of the laws. See Barnes, A.S., The Early Church in the Light of the Monuments. Wiseman, N., (Card.) Fabiola.

2. "If the Tiber rises above its banks, if the Nile does not overflow, if the skies are not clear, if the earth quakes, if famine or pestilence come, up goes the cry 'The Christians to the lions'." (Tertullian, Apology).

3. Not counting partial persecutions in the provinces, there were ten persecutions under ten emperors, the first one taking place under Nero in 64-68 and the last one under Diocletian and his associates in 303-311.

4. That decree published jointly by the co-emperors Licinius and Constantine granted all Christians the free exercise of their religion and restitution of their churches and property. It had been preceded by another of the same character issued in 311 by Galerius, Licinius and Constantine.

Philosophical attacks and heresies

sophers, and her internal peace was threatened by dissensions within the fold. The literary warfare against Christianity was carried on in two ways: directly by slander and ridicule; indirectly by purging paganism of its gross superstitions, by explaining its mythologies as allegories, hiding important truths; by introducing into it a number of Christian elements; or even by trying to set up a heathen counterfeit of Christ.[1] All these attacks were met victoriously by the Christian Apologists.[2] While many heresies[3] threatened the peace and unity of the Church, during the first three centuries, the most dangerous one, Arianism, appeared shortly after Constantine the Great had given liberty to the Church. This heresy, which denied the Divinity of Christ, spread with great rapidity in the Eastern Churches, and to end the confusion which it had caused, Constantine, with the consent of the Pope, invited the Bishops to meet at Nicaea, Asia Minor, in 325. This was the first Ecumenical Council. Arius and his doctrines were condemned, and the Council embodied the result of its discussions into the profession of faith known as the Nicaean Creed.[4]

Questions for Discussion

1—Compare the processes of Romanization and Americanization.
2—In what respects is our civilization superior to that of Rome in the reign of Trajan?
3—Has there been a return to pagan ideals and practices?
4—Compare traveling in the first and twentieth centuries of the Christian era.
5—To what extent did Greek philosophy influence Christian thought?
6—Why did paganism retain such a hold on the upper classes in Roman society?

1. See Birkhaeuser, J.A., History of the Church, pp. 58-62.
2. Ibid, pp. 64-68; also Catholic Encyclopedia, art, Apologetics and special articles to which it refers.
3. See Birkhaeuser, op. cit., ch. V; for a fuller treatment of particular heresies see Cath. Encyc.
4. See Cath. Encyc., art, Creed.

7—Compare the condition of the slave in the Roman world and in the United States before the Civil War.

8—Show how and to what extent the Church preserved Roman organization.

9—Compare early Stoic philosophy and its Roman form and account for the difference between the two.

10—To what extent did pagan philosophy prepare the way for Christianity?

11—What have been the chief contributions of Greece, Rome and Christianity to Western civilization?

12—To what extent has Christianity influenced our economic life?

SOURCES ON THE ROMAN WORLD

This and the following lists of sources are not intended of course to be exhaustive. They merely contain what may be considered the most important original sources of information on some particular subject or period of history.

Epictetus' teachings preserved in Arrianus' Encheiridion.
Juvenal, Satires.
Marcus Aurelius, Ad se ipsum.
Martial, Epigrams.
Pliny the Younger, Letters.
Quintilian, Institutes of Oratory.
Seneca, Moral Letters.
Suetonius, Lives of the twelve Caesars.
Tacitus, Annals.

SOURCES ON THE BEGINNING OF CHRISTIANITY

The Gospels.
The Acts of the Apostles.
Eusebius, Works, especially his Ecclesiastical History.
Apostolic Constitutions.
See also Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. VI, pp. 16, 17 (Fathers).

REFERENCES

Allard, Paul, Le Christianisme et l'Empire Romain.
Barnes, Arthur S., The Early Church in the Light of Monuments.
Alzog, J., Manual of Universal Church History.
Birkhaeuser, J.A., History of the Church.
Bury, J.B., History of the Later Roman Empire.
Capes, W.W., The Early Empire.
Davis, W.S., Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome.
Fouard, Constant. St. Peter and the First Years of Christianity.
Lübke, W., History of Art.

Maas, A.J., The Life of Jesus Christ.
Mahaffy, J.P., History of Greek Classical Literature.
Monroe, Paul, Text-Book in the History of Education.
Monroe, Paul, Source Book for the History of Education.
Morrison, W.D., The Jews under Roman Rule.
Simcox, G.A., History of Latin Literature.
Turner, William, (Rt. Rev.) History of Philosophy.
Wiseman, Nicholas (Cardinal), Fabiola.
The Catholic Encyclopedia. An international work of reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline and History of the Catholic Church.

CHAPTER II

EARLY CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

The work of Christ as a teacher. In the life and the lessons of the Divine Founder of Christianity we find not only the beginning of a new era in education, but a perfect exemplar of all the qualifications of the good teacher: a strong yet many-sided and winning personality, a stainless life, a complete mastery of the truths to be taught, a thorough knowledge of human nature, and a consummate ability to teach. The unsurpassed beauty and ideal perfection of the Personality of Christ have been acknowledged in terms of the most reverent, unstinted admiration, not only by disciples and Saints, by men who have viewed it in the light of faith, but also by rationalists and sceptics, by men who have viewed it in the light of reason. But when we try to form an adequate conception of this wonderful Personality, we soon discover that the task is well-nigh impossible. Christ's character is so complex, so many-sided, that it seems to challenge analysis and to elude all description. He combines in His Person a bewildering wealth of ideal qualities, many of which seem to exclude one another: authority, strength, wisdom, justice, zeal, austerity allied with humility, joyfulness, patience, simplicity, forbearance, sympathy; yet all these qualities are blended into such beautiful unity, there is such a perfect poise, such a complete harmony between intellect and feeling, between thought and action, that we are at a loss to determine which of His qualities stand above the others. He is the Ideal Person, and it is on account of this perfec-

The Personality of Jesus

tion, reflected in Jesus' life and teaching, that even a cursory survey of His public ministry cannot fail to yield many important lessons.

Every quality of a good teacher has its place and value in education, but there are a few which we rightly consider as indispensable, because the man or woman who lacks these qualities, cannot properly perform the task of educating the young, no matter what other qualifications they may possess. The first of these indispensable requirements is authority. Without it, education is impossible. It is authority which curbs the evil tendencies in the child, which trains him in obedience to the law, when the lights of his understanding are still too dim to perceive its reasonableness, and his will too weak to adhere to it. It is through authority that the child comes into the full possession of the higher attributes of human nature, that he grows to be an individual fully equipped for the tasks of life—authority of parent and teacher, of State and Church, authority of the natural law, all of which have their source and weight in the authority of God. The Gospel shows us how admirably this first condition of all good teaching was fulfilled by Christ. He taught with the authority of one who has the right and the power to demand obedience: "You call me Lord and Master and you say well for so I am."[1] He taught with the authority which comes from a perfect mastery of the truths to be taught: "I am the way, the truth and the life."[2] The teaching, even of the greatest pagan moral philosopher was often nothing else than a long, futile groping after the truth. "Socrates," says Aristotle, "was occupying himself with ethical investigations . . . . and . . . . in these investigations (he) was in search of the general law, and was the first to direct his

Christ taught with authority

1. John xiii, 13.
2. John xiv, 6.

SERMON ON THE MOUNT. (Rosselli, Sistine Chapel.)

attention to the task of definition."[1] That Socrates often failed to reach the goal of his inquiry is made evident by the fact that many of the Socratic dialogues offer no definite solution for the questions they raise. Never so with Christ. He was not concerned with discussions relating to refinement in the definition of words, or subtleties in the distinction of thoughts. His aim was not to make of His followers, idle talkers but doers of deeds. He always spoke the plain, forceful language of one that knows and has authority. "(He) was teaching them as one having power and not as their Scribes and Pharisees."[2]

Education is not only a work of authority, it is also, and still more, a work of love. Love is the second great quality of every good teacher, because it is love which wins and secures that full confidence and hearty cooperation of the child without which his education can only be a lifeless, artificial process, never reaching into the fastnesses of his nature. But the teacher cannot command love as he can obedience and respect. To be loved by his pupils he must love them, and here again Christ stands before us as the ideal teacher. His heart was truly filled with love of the most disinterested kind for all of us. He might easily have gained for Himself all the things that most men consider of value: power, honor, fame, flattery, riches, pleasure, but they were all as nought before Him. He had but one aim: to do the will of His Father, to bring men to God and thus make them happy.

and love

He was patient, forbearing, amiable; there is not the least trace of harshness in His character. Even for the hardened, self-righteous and on the whole hateful Pharisees He had only the words: "Woe to you, hypocrites."[3] He met all inquiries with kindness, encouraged His Dis-

1. Aristotle, Met. I, 6.
2. Matt. vii, 29.
3. Matt. xxiii.

ciples in asking Him questions, and never tired of repeating and explaining in one form or in another the great principles that He came to teach. He was full of kindness for all and ever ready to help and comfort, but His sympathy never flowed more readily to any one than the lowly, the sorrowful, the repentant sinner and the little ones, those who were in need of help or encouragement, of consolation or protection. The first among His disciples were poor fishermen; He treated the despised publicans as His friends, He consoled the sorrowing sisters Martha and Mary, but no one was nearer to His heart than the child. Of all the episodes in Jesus' life there is none more beautiful than the one related in Mark x, 13-16:

"And they brought to Him young children, that He might touch them. And the disciples rebuked them that brought them.

And when Jesus saw it He was much displeased and said to them: 'Suffer the little children to come to me, and forbid them not: for of such is the Kingdom of God.

Amen I say to you, whosoever shall not receive the Kingdom of God as a little child, shall not enter into it!

And embracing them and laying His hands upon them He blessed them."

and tact

At the same time, Christ's love for men and His zeal for the salvation of their souls never blinded Him to the counsels of prudence which is, the third essential quality of a good teacher. He was ever careful to avoid anything which might mar the effects of His charity, and this prudence in dealing with every particular situation shows at once His admirable self-control and thorough knowledge of human nature, nowhere else more evident perhaps than in the training of the Apostles:

Christ knew men

"In training the Apostles, our Saviour treated each according to his individual character and disposition, thus showing His accurate knowledge of men. He displayed this knowledge when He called many of them to follow Him. He approached John with friendly cordiality, for he was particularly susceptible to friendship and love.

Philip seems to have been a man of very gentle, docile disposition, who needed but a word and a sign to become His follower. The same was the case with Matthew. Nathanael, an educated,

independent man, seeking straightforwardly after truth, was impressed by our Lord's calling him by name, and disclosing the secrets of his conscience. Peter, the resolute, energetic and stout-hearted Galilean, was attracted by the prospect of a mysterious but glorious future. It is peculiarly instructive to observe in the case of Peter, how our Lord brought his impetuous and self confident disposition to the right degree of Christian humility by encouragement, by gentle and sharp rebukes, by serious warnings, and by allowing him to make mistakes.

As a result of this wise, gentle and vigorous training St. Peter developed into a zealous and humble Pope, firm in the faith." [1]

Christ's frankness in speech

Christ was the very personification of straightforwardness and honesty in speech as in His life. He never was self-seeking, never trying to please men. He spoke to tell the truth. He was intensely devoted to His work and gave it ungrudgingly all His time and energy, never losing an opportunity to teach a lesson, and often drawing it from the most trivial occurences. He never aimed at controversy, but when He met argument He knew how to deal with it to the discomfiture of those who would ensnare Him, and He also knew how to draw a lesson from the incident.[2]

and zeal

He knew how to meet arguments

Christ taught by deeds even more than by words. "The works that I do in the name of my Father, they give testimony of Me. If therefore you will not believe Me, believe my works that you may know and believe that the Father is in Me and that I am in the Father."[3] There is not a single principle taught by Christ which is not admirably exemplified in His actions. His whole life is a living lesson. He was for His disciples and for the multitudes of Palestine, and He is for every one of us to-day, the perfect model of the virtues that He proclaimed. His work is indeed the most wonderful illustration of educating by imitation that the world has ever seen.

His life a lesson

No less remarkable are the methods of instruction used by Christ. They show intimate, admirable adaptation of

1. M. Meschler, S.J., The Humanity of Jesus, p. 64 and fol.
2. A remarkable illustration of this is related in John viii, 1-2.
3. John x, 25-38.

Christ's methods of instruction

the process of presentation to the mode of life, occupations, habits of thought, knowledge and intellectual stage of His hearers. Whenever He addressed the multitudes, He used the plainest of styles, taught in parables, in proverbial sayings, appealed to their senses and imagination, their daily experiences as farmers, shepherds, fishermen, merchants or mechanics. His discourses abound in allusions to, or illustrations from the simple phases of nature and the whole life of the people: the tree and its fruit, the birds of the air, the lilies of the valley, the mustard seed, the sower, the good shepherd, the merchant seeking good pearls, the catch of fishes, the women with the ten pieces of silver, the bridegroom and the ten virgins. On the other hand when Jesus was speaking to audiences made up partly at least of learned men, leaders of the people, He used a more elevated and solemn style, better suited to a more highly educated class of people.[1] But whatever the audience, Christ never failed to bring within reach of His hearers the sublime and abstract truths which He taught; He always used language that was intelligible to all; He was ever careful to correlate His doctrine with the previous knowledge of His audience, to show its application by means of concrete illustrations, and to insist upon translation of belief into action. "Not every one that saith to Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of Heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father."[2] Even more noteworthy perhaps was the care Jesus took of preparing the minds of His hearers for the great truths of His message. He constantly referred to the Old Testament, the lives and sayings of its great characters, Abraham and Moses, the Kings and the Prophets, all names and sayings familiar to the Jews, as prefiguring the New Dispensation.

1. On this point see A. J. Maas, S.J., The Life of Jesus Christ, p. xviii.
2. Matt. vii, 21.

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

And finally Jesus was not the teacher of one class, or one race, or one country, of the wealthy or the poor, of the learned or the ignorant, but of all men and all ages. His doctrine is no scientific theory or system of philosophy, hailed as true to-day and condemned as false tomorrow, but the living, everlasting truth, which gives light and hope and strength to every man and woman of good will. He Himself expressly declared that He was the Saviour of all men, that His Gospel should be preached throughout the whole world and to all nations, and it was for this purpose that He founded the Visible Church, so that through Her the fruit of His doctrines might be insured for all ages.

Christ the teacher of all times and all men

The constitution of the Church. From the very beginning there was in the Church a clear distinction between teacher and taught, between clergy and laity. The Lord Himself had made the distinction very plain when He had selected His Apostles from the crowd. Evidences of this discrimination between the clergy and the laity are not wanting in the history of the early Church. Thus St. Clement of Rome says: "A bishop has a particular charge laid upon him, and the priest has functions special to his office; the levite has his own proper ministry, but the laymen have to do only with the laws that pertain to their order."[1] In addition to the bishops, the priests and deacons were the most important officers of the Church.[2] The latter were in charge of the distribution of the goods of the Church and they assisted the bishop in the performance of his ecclesiastical functions. The priests or presbyters constituted the bishop's council; they had the power to preach, to offer up

The deacons

The priests

1. Birkhaeuser, J.A., History of the Church, p. 99.
2. The higher officers of the Church were the bishops, presbyters or priests, deacons and subdeacons; the inferior officers were the acolytes, lectors, exorcists, and ostiaries or porters.

the Holy Sacrifice and to administer the Sacraments with the exception of Holy Orders conferred by the bishop. Preparation for the priesthood was mostly practical, though candidates sometimes had received a liberal education in catechetical or even pagan schools, previous to their entering into the clerical state. Boys and young men preparing for the Holy Orders, received their training under the supervision of the bishop and priests, through the exercise of the duties attached to minor orders. Seminaries, or special institutions for the training of the clergy, do not appear until the fifth century in imitation perhaps of the *monasterium clericorum* founded by St. Augustine in his own home at Hippo.[1]

The Bishops

The priests received their powers from the bishop, whose vicars they were, and who alone had complete jurisdiction over a district or city called diocese.[2] This episcopal jurisdiction ultimately went back to the Apostles who were the first bishops and who delegated to their successors the powers that they had received from Christ. Thus we see St. Paul delegate these powers to Titus for the Island of Crete and to Timothy for the city of Ephesus. In rural districts were sometimes found special representatives of the city bishop, called chorepiscopi[3] or rural bishops, but these were gradually replaced by priests. In the course of time it also happened that a Church became the "mother" of other Churches which it had founded. These mother churches, called from the Greek metropolitan,[4] were usually in the provincial capitals, where the Apostles and their disciples had first preached the Gospel. The division

Metropolitan sees

1. See Cath. Encyc., under Seminary.
2. See Cath. Encyc., under Diocese.
3. Ibid.
4. See Cath. Encyc., under Archbishop, Metropolitan, Primate, and Patriarch.

Mosaic in the Church of S. Apollinare, Ravenna, representing a Bishop of the sixth century.

of dioceses into parishes does not seem to have been carried out to any great extent before the fourth century, although in large cities like Rome, bishops soon found it necessary to delegate special functions to priests and deacons. Shortly after the conversion of the Empire, the bishops came to be invested with some important civil powers. They had the right to call before their tribunal many of the cases in which clerics were involved; the right to visit the prisons in order to ascertain whether their inmates were properly treated; the right to remove young girls from immoral houses, to adjudge foundlings to those who were willing to receive them and to act as judges in the manumission of slaves. In other words the bishops were now officially what they had already been unofficially for more than three centuries, the protectors and helpers of the weak and the poor. It was also at that time that the privileges of the pagan priests and teachers were extended to the Christian clergy; they were exempted from military service, from the obligation of quartering the soldiers, from undertaking municipal offices, trusteeships, guardianships, and all public functions, and partly at least from personal taxation.[1]

Civil powers of the Bishops

At the head of the whole episcopate was the Bishop of Rome, the Pontiff of Pontiffs, the successor of St. Peter. This primacy of the see of St. Peter, made very clear by Christ,[2] was universally acknowledged by bishops and faithful, as is shown by the testimony of many early Christian authors. Thus St. Ignatius of Antioch refers to the Church of Rome as the one "which presides in the

The Pope

1. See Cath. Encyc., under Privileges.

2. "Thou art Peter. and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven." (Matt. xvi, 18, 19.)

place of the country of the Romans, all godly, all-gracious, all-praised, all-prospering, all hallowed and presiding in the covenant of love."[1] St. Irenaeus says of her: "With this Church (of Rome) . . . . it is necessary that every Church i.e. the Faithful everywhere dispersed should be in communion." St. Cyprian is still more outspoken: "Upon this one (Peter) He builds his Church, and to Him He assigns His sheep to be fed. And although after His resurrection He gives an equal power to all the Apostles . . . . . yet in order to manifest unity, He has, by His own authority, so disposed the origin of that same unity as if it began from one."[2]

Pagan education vs Christian

Christian education. In striking contrast with pagan education, concerning itself with physical, aesthetic and intellectual culture, aiming at social and political achievements, Christian education was essentially and from the very first, a moral and religious training, preparing for the life to come. The chief reason for this radical difference lies in the pagan and Christian conceptions of life and man. For the pagan, this life was an end unto itself; there was nothing beyond it, at least nothing really worth while.[3] Man's worth was determined by his relation to the State and the State existed only for the benefit of the few. Hence education, the privilege of a small upper class, was to be a preparation for the enjoyment of this life, a means of getting out of it all that it could yield in wealth, power, fame, honor and pleasure. ;

For the Christian this life is a time of trial, upon which depends an eternity of happiness or misery. Eternal life, the ultimate goal of every man's earthly life, is not to be

1. Birkhaeuser, J.A., History of the Church, p. 104.
2. Ibid.
3. For the great mass of men the future life was to be at best a "washed-out copy" of this one. For a description of that future life see Odyssey, Bk. XI.

reached through high intellectual or aesthetic attainments, but through belief manifested in action. God is our Father, whom we must love and serve, and all men are brethren in this common Fatherhood of God. The consequences of these principles are obvious. Education is not to be confined to any race, or caste or a few highly gifted minds; all men have an equal right to its blessings, because all men are the children of a common Father; moreover to His Apostles Christ gave the command: "Going therefore, teach ye all nations . . . . and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world."[1] Education will aim at the most exalted of all ideals:" "Be you, therefore perfect, as also your Heavenly Father is perfect."[2] Men's worth is not determined by their social or political position, but by their filial relation to God. They have all the same personal worth, be they free-born or slave, man, woman or child; they all have an immortal soul, endowed with intelligence and free will, and thus they are first of all responsible to God for their actions. Education then is to be above all else a moral and religious discipline, because upon it depends men's eternal salvation; this discipline is not to consist in mere outward conformity with customs or law, but in that inner rectitude of the heart which does not escape the eye of God. On the other hand it would be wrong to believe that because Christianity lays so much stress upon the religious and moral aspect of this life, it teaches the neglect of its other values The whole history of the Church amply shows that she has an abiding interest in every human activity, be it social intercourse, or economic welfare, or science, or literature or art. What the Church, in imitation of Her Divine Founder, has always taught and teaches to-day, is that

1. Matt. xxviii, 19-20.
2. Matt. v, 48.

this life should never be, as of yore among the pagans, the ultimate goal of man's efforts, and that all worldly achievements must be appraised in the light of man's ultimate destiny.

In the Apostolic days, admission into the Church would follow a profession of earnest belief in Christianity and sincere repentance for past sins, but in the times of persecution it became necessary to take precautions against the danger of apostasy or even betrayal. Thus admission was made to depend upon a lengthy period of intellectual and moral preparation called catechumenate. All catechumens or candidates for baptism, were divided into inquirers or hearers, and catechumens proper. The inquirers were those who had expressed a desire to be acquainted with the truths of Christianity. They received some elementary instruction in the fundamental doctrines and practices of the Church, and had to show by their conduct that they were worthy of being promoted into the catechumenate proper. They were admitted at Mass but had to leave immediately after the sermon. The catechumens proper were allowed to remain after the dismissal of the inquirers, until a special prayer had been recited over them, but they had to withdraw before the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful. They received more advanced instruction than the inquirers and they had to prove by their manner of living, that they were worthy of entering upon the last stage of their probation, a period of intensive doctrinal, liturgical and ascetical preparation during which they were called "competentes."[1] The manner of instruction in the catechumenal schools was the catechetical, i.e. by question and answer,[2] and the teachers at first were the bishops and

Catechumenal schools

1. See Cath. Encyc., under Catechumens and Doctrine.
2. Such as we find in our present-day Catechism. This method was much in use in the elementary schools during the Middle Ages and even subsequent times.

priests or the deacons; later however the catechist or instructor often happened to be some minor cleric or even a layman. The following excerpt from the Apostolic Constitutions will give some idea of the work done in the catechumenal schools:

"Let him, therefore, who is to be taught the truth in regard to piety, be instructed before his Baptism in the knowledge of the unbegotten God, in the understanding His only begotten Son, in the assured acknowledgment of the Holy Ghost. Let him learn the order of the several parts of the creation, the series of providence ,the different dispensations of the laws. Let him be instructed how the world was made, and why man was appointed to be a citizen therein; let him also know his own nature, of what sort it is; let him be taught how God punished the wicked with water and fire, and did glorify the saints in every generation—I mean Seth, and Enos, and Enoch, and Noah, and Abraham and his posterity, and Melchizedek, and Job and Moses and Joshua, and Caleb and Phineas the priest, and those that were holy in every generation; and how God still took care of and did not reject mankind, but called them from their error and vanity to the acknowledgment of the truth at various seasons, reducing them from bondage and impiety, unto liberty and piety, from injustice to righteousness, from death eternal to everlasting life. Let him that offers himself to Baptism learn these and the like things during the time that he is a catechumen; and let him who lays his hands upon him adore God, the Lord of the whole world, and thank Him for His creation, for His sending Christ, His only begotten Son, that He might save man by blotting out his transgressions, and that He might remit ungodliness and sins and might "purify him from all filthiness of flesh and spirit," and sanctify man according to the good pleasure of His kindness, that He might inspire him with the knowledge of His will and enlighten the eyes of his heart to consider of His wonderful works, and make known to him the judgments of righteousness, that so he might hate every way of iniquity, and walk in the way of truth that he might be thought worthy of the laver of regeneration, to the adoption of sons, which is in Christ, that, "being planted together in the likeness of the death of Christ," in hopes of a glorious communication, he may be mortified to sin, and may live to God as to his mind and word and deed, and may be numbered together in the book of the living. And after this thanksgiving, let him instruct him in the doctrines concerning our Lord's Incarnation, and in those concerning His Passion and Resurrection from the dead, and Ascension."[1]

This brief account of the earliest type of purely Christian

1. Quoted by E. P. Cubberley, in his "Readings in the History of Education," pp. 52-53.

education has shown us, if nothing else, that during the first two centuries at least, Christian education was essentially, almost exclusively, moral and religious. It is true that the doctrinal and liturgical instruction given to the catechumens afforded some intellectual training of no mean value, but even this training was made secondary to, at least concommitant with moral and religious training. The Church was then as she is to-day, primarily interested in teaching men how to live, and thus the great Christian schools were then as now, the Christian home and the Christian life. The Faithful, and the catechumens as well, were in duty bound, as followers of Christ, not only to shun the impurities of pagan shows and festivities, to look upon children as a blessing and a sacred trust for which they were responsible to God, not only to consider marriage as a sacred contract entered into for life, and to deal justly with all men, but to practice every one of the precepts proclaimed by Christ in His great Sermon on the Mount. The chief reason for this seemingly narrow, one-sided character of early Christian education is to be found, as stated before, in the very nature of Christianity itself. There were however, at least two other causes, the first of which was the conditions of the times which demanded more than anything else a moral and social regeneration. Then too the vast majority of early Christians, coming as they did from the lower classes of the population, did not feel, either for themselves or their children, the need of a higher intellectual or aesthetic culture, and they were not likely to have much sympathy for the type of culture which they saw around them in pagan society.

With the spread of Christianity among the upper classes the need began to be felt in the Church for a less rudimentary, less exclusively religious type of instruction than

the catechumenal.[1] Moreover the inquiries of highly educated pagans and the attacks of heretics or pagan philosophers made it imperative for the clergy to receive a preparation which would enable them to meet successfully those attacks or inquiries. Then too by the close of the second century, there were not a few leaders of the Church,[2] who were ardent advocates of culture as such, who believed that pagan literature and philosophy, if only shorn of their objectionable features, could be very useful to the Christians. Thus it was that in the second half of the second century and during the third there evolved a new type of Christian schools known as the catechetical.[3] The most famous of these was the one established at Alexandria. According to tradition a school for converts had been established in that city by St. Mark himself, but its first well-known master was Pantaenus, a converted Greek stoic philosopher, who was placed at the head of the school by bishop Julian about 179 and developed it on a wider basis. Pantaenus combined in his teaching, the exposition of the Scriptures

Catechetical schools

1. The predicament of the wealthy Christian parents who desired their children to be educated according to their station in life is well stated in the following passage: "All the schools were pagan. Not only were all the ceremonies of the official Faith—and more especially the festivals of Minerva, who was the patroness of masters and pupils—celebrated at regular intervals in the schools, but the children were taught reading out of books saturated with the old mythology. There the Christian child made his first acquaintance with the deities of Olympus. He ran the danger of imbibing ideas entirely contrary to those which he had received at home. The fables he had learned to detest in his own home were explained, elucidated and held up to his admiration every day by his masters. Was it right to put him thus into two schools of thought? What could be done that he might be educated, like every one else, and yet not run the risk of losing his faith?" M. Boissier, La Fin du Paganisme, Vol. I, p. 200.

2. See Fathers of the Church.

3. The catechumenal schools described before are sometimes called catechetical from the method they used. It seems advisable however to restrict the use of the term "catechetical" to the schools dealt with in the present section.

with that of philosophy. Under his successors Clement of Alexandria and Origen, the curriculum of the school was further extended and included in addition to the Holy Scriptures and philosophy, Greek literature, history, dialectics and the sciences. Similar schools were opened in other cities; the most famous were those at Jerusalem, Rome, Antioch, Edessa and the one founded at Caesarea by Origen, after he had left Alexandria. His pupil St. Gregory Thaumaturgus has left us in the panegyric of the master[1] a graphic account of the work done at Caesarea, and it shows us that Origen was not only deeply interested in the Scriptures but in every branch of human knowledge. With these schools are connected the names of some of the great Fathers of the early Church[2] and the first schools of theological controversy within the Church.[3] Though they were not intended primarily for the preparation of the clergy, they supplied many priests and bishops and may be considered the forerunners of the episcopal and cathedral schools of later times.

Christianity and the position of women. The best that can be said of the position of women before the appearance of Christianity, is that it was not an enviable one, even among the so-called classical nations. There was of course nowhere any question of equality between the sexes; even the greatest of pagan philosophers has branded woman as a second rate human being.[4]

Woman's position in pagan society

Among the civilized nations of the East the legal practice of polygamy and the voluptuous cults associated with Asiatic religions had brought woman into a condition of

1. "Oratio Panegyrica" in Ante-Nicene Fathers, VI, pp. 9-74.
2. St. Justin Martyr, Dionysius of Alexandria, St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, St. Cyril, St. Athanasius, among others.
3. See Cath. Encyc., under Theology, B.
4. Aristotle, On the generation of animals.

deep moral degradation, long before the beginning of the Christian Era. In Greece and Rome her position, though better in some respects than in the East, was far from being an ideal one. In the golden age of Greek civilization women of the well-to-do class not only had no influence on public life but they had lost the freedom they enjoyed in the simple and rude society of Homer's time. Their education was limited to training in the household duties; very few of them, if any, could read, they seldom appeared in public and at best were treated like higher domestic servants. Sappho, Corinna, Aspasia, Hypatia, are exceptions which only go to prove the general rule. In Rome custom had not fettered woman as completely as in Greece. She was not forbidden to appear in public and as a girl she could, if she felt so inclined, receive the same education as her brothers. Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, Livia the wife of Augustus, to mention only two of the most famous, were highly educated women. However, in Rome as everywhere else in antiquity, there was no question of woman's rights apart from man. She was thought of only as mother and wife and as such, it is true that her influence for good had once been very great in Rome. But this influence had come to naught long before the Christian Era. She shared in the general depravity when she did not lead in it.

Woman and Christianity

It was Christianity that tore down the barriers which tradition, passion, prejudice, had built about woman; she was declared man's equal, sharing with him a common origin and destiny, participating with him in the same heavenly gifts. "For as many of you as have been baptized in Christ have put on Christ . . . . there is neither male nor female. For ye are all one in Christ Jesus."[1] Not only were polygamy and divorce strictly

1. Gal. iii, 27-28

prohibited, but marriage was raised to the dignity of a Sacrament. Even more significant for the emancipation of woman was the teaching of Christ on the nobility of the state of virginity; it gave at once social standing to woman independently of man and it has produced innumerable hosts of noble women who have devoted their life to works of charity and education. It was through Christianity that woman was freed from bondage, that she was restored to her natural and rightful position in the home and in society; but it was through woman, even more than through man, that Christianity achieved her triumph. The virtues which men prize most in women, which are theirs by nature, gentleness, meekness, patience, forbearance, self-denial, were the very weapons wielded by the Church in her long fight against a corrupt and cruel world. To woman's heart the Church intrusted the care of the poor, of the old, of the sick; to her she intrusted the regeneration of the home; it was her example, on her gentle, unostentatious but persevering influence on husband and son that the Church depended most to win mankind over to Christ.

The Fathers of the Church. In a previous section of this chapter we noted that as early as the second century the Church numbered among its members many men well trained in pagan learning and naturally eager to bring their knowledge and training to the service of the Christian faith. Among the first and the best known of these early Christian teachers and writers was Justin Martyr, (c 100-165). Born of Greek parents, he was brought up in paganism and became an enthusiastic student of philosophy, especially that of Plato. The reading of the Old Testament and the heroism of the Christian martyrs induced him to embrace Christianity, for the defence of which he wrote remarkable apologetical works.

Justin Martyr

Clement of Alexandria (+217) has already been men-

tioned in connection with the great catechectical school in that city. Like his master and friend, Pantaenus, he came to Christianity from the ranks of the Greek philosophers. He had a thorough knowledge of Biblical and Christian literature and was familiar with the pagan poets and philosophers whom he was fond of quoting in his lectures and writings. Clement was one of the first Christian teachers to bring philosphy to the service of faith. His *"Miscellanies"* are devoted to this attempt at reconciliation between science and religion; they contain many beautiful reflections on education. Still more educational in tone and purpose is the *"Instructor"* (*Paedagogus*), a treatise on the moral law of Christianity. The great "Pedagogue", says Clement, is Christ, who first summons man to be His and then fashions his whole life and character according to His own. Clement of Alexandria

Origen (c. 185-254), Clement's successor at Alexandria, was the most famous of early Christian writers and teachers. He brought to the service of the Church a vast erudition, a rare intelligence and an unwearied diligence, which made him the most voluminous of the ante-Nicene writers. Unfortunately most of his works have been lost. Of those extant, the most important are his book against Celsus, commentaries and homilies on the Sacred Scriptures, fragments of his famous *Hexapla,* a critical edition of the Old Testament in fifty volumes, and his *Principles,* a systematic exposition of the Christian Doctrine. Although Origen's works are not free from serious errors they none the less contributed greatly to the building up of Christian theological science. Origen

St. Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 315-386), worthy companion of St. Athanasius in his struggle with the Arians, had been intrusted with the instruction of the catechumens at Jerusalem before he became Bishop of that city. The most im- St. Cyril of Jerusalem

portant part of his extant works is a series of instructions to catechumens (*Catecheses*) which contain interesting and very valuable information on Christian antiquity. In addition to an introductory address they include eighteen lectures to candidates for Baptism and five *"Mystagogical"* instructions to the same persons after they had been baptized.

To St. Cyril's generation belonged the "Three Cappadocians", St. Basil the Great, his brother, St. Gregory of Nyssa and their friend St. Gregory of Nazianzus. All three exerted a deep influence on Christian education through their lives, their teaching and writings. Of the three, Basil was the greatest by far. He received a very

St. Basil

good literary education in the schools of Caesarea and Constantinople, and at the University of Athens, where he remained four or five years and became the inseparable companion of St. Gregory of Nazianzus. The latter says of their student life in Athens that they knew "but two streets in the city—the one leading to the church and the other leading to the schools." After teaching for some time at Caesarea he retired from the world and became the organizer of monastic life in the East. His deep interest in the education and welfare of the poor is shown in the creation of the *Basileiad*, a magnificent institution for the care of the friendless stranger, the medical treatment of the sick poor and the industrial training of the unskilled. From 370 to 379, the year of his death, he occupied the see of Caesarea; his zeal, administrative genius, learning and eloquence have won for him the reputation of one of the greatest bishops of the Church. St. Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 325-389) like his friend St. Basil was carefully reared in the best schools of his time, especially those of Athens where he seems to have spent at least ten years. His voluminous writings which include poems, prose epistles

St. Gregory of Nazianzus

and orations give ample evidence of the thorough literary culture their author had received. Many of his letters are masterpieces of the epistolary style and by common consent St. Gregory of Nazianzus is recognized as one of the foremost orators and theologians of his and subsequent times. St. Gregory of Nyssa (+ c. 394), like his brother the great St. Basil and their friend St. Gregory of Nazianzus had been nurtured in the pagan schools and for some time he was so devoted to pagan culture that he became a professional rhetorician. Even after he had forsaken this career for the priesthood he retained his interest in the art of teaching as is shown by his catechesis (*Oratio Catechetica*) which abounds in practical directions to teachers regarding the methods of instructing converts to Christianity.

St. Gregory of Nyssa

St. John of Constantinople, called Chrysostom, or Golden Mouthed on account of his eloquence, was probably the most prominent Doctor of the Greek Church, and certainly one of the greatest preachers ever heard in a Christian pulpit. He had received his literary education in the best schools of his native city, Antioch, which was then the second city of the Eastern Empire; Libanius, the foremost orator of the time and the most tenacious adherent of dying paganism, had been his teacher in rhetoric. The influence of Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, induced him to withdraw from profane studies and to devote himself to a religious life and the study of the Holy Scriptures. For several years after his ordination he was cathedral preacher at Antioch and in 397 became Patriarch of Constantinople. The voluminous works of this great Father contain many passages in which he dwells on the necessity of a Christian education for Christian children and the dangers awaiting them in pagan schools.

St. John Chrysostom

"If you have masters among you who can answer for the virtue of your children, I should be very far from advocating your send-

ing them to the monastery; on the contrary I should strongly insist on their remaining where they are . . . . But if no one can give such a guarantee, we ought not to send children to schools where they will learn vice before they learn science, and where in acquiring learning of relatively small value, they will lose what is far more precious, their integrity of soul . . . Are we then to give up literature? you will exclaim. I do not say that; but I do say that we must not kill souls . . . . .

". . . . When the foundations of a building are sapped we should seek rather for architects to reconstruct the whole edifice, than for artists to adorn the walls . . . . In fact, the choice lies between two alternatives; a liberal education which you may get by sending your children to the public schools, or the salvation of their souls, which you secure by sending them to the monks. Which is to gain the day, science or the soul? If you can unite both advantages do so by all means; but if not, choose the more precious." [1]

In the West as in the East the early Church numbered many converts from the better classes of pagans, public men, professional lawyers and teachers, men skilled in Roman learning, Roman government and education. The most famous of these, because of their influence on Christian thought and education, were Tertullian, Arnobius, Lactantius, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine.

Tertullian

Tertullian (c. 150-230) a man of great learning and strong intellect, was a professional lawyer before his conversion to Christianity. His numerous writings, which treat of the most varied points of Christian doctrine and Christian life were highly appreciated in the early Church. His *"Apologeticus"* was the first Christian Apology published in the West and is one of the best defenses of the Christians against their pagan adversaries. The attitude of Tertullian towards pagan culture was less liberal than that which prevailed in the East. He seems to have been unduly impressed by the dangers to faith and morals lurking in the pagan poets and philosophers; although he did not forbid the study of pagan learning by the Christians he would

1. See Drane, A.F., Christian Schools and Scholars. Chrysostom, Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae; ad patrem fidelem iii. Opera i, p. 116-121. Parisiis 1839.

have it limited to the detecting and refuting of pagan errors. Arnobius (+325) was a distinguished rhetorician and for a long time an ardent advocate of paganism. After his conversion he composed his *"Disputations against the Gentiles"* in which he exposes the fallacies of heathenism and its immoralities. Lactantius Firmianus (+ c. 330) a pupil of Arnobius, had attained great prominence as a teacher of rhetoric before he embraced Christianity. The elegance and purity of his style have won for him the title of Christian Cicero.

Arnobius

Lactantius

St. Jerome (c. 340-420), a native of Dalmatia, was probably the most learned of the Latin Fathers. Before he finally settled in a monastery at Bethlehem his thirst for knowledge had caused him to travel to distant cities. After a stay of several years in Rome, where he studied under the grammarian Donatus, he visited Trier, at that time famous for its schools, Antioch, where he heard Apollinaris of Laodicea one of the first exegetes of that time and Constantinople where he studied the Holy Scriptures under Gregory of Nazianzus. He was passionately fond of the ancient classics as he himself tells us, and it was only after he had been warned in a dream of the danger of this excessive devotion to pagan learning that he turned his scholarship to Christian purposes. Of his many writings, the most widely known is his Latin translation of the Bible from the Hebrew and Greek versions which he undertook at the request of Pope St. Damasus I and is known as the *Vulgate*. His *"Catalogue of Illustrious Men"* also called *"Catalogue of Church Writers"* was the first Christian literary history. Among his letters those to Laeta and Gaudentius concerning the education of girls are important documents for the history of early Christian education.[1]

St. Jerome

1. Particularly interesting is the letter to Laeta concerning the education of her daughter Paula. See Works of St. Jerome in Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Vol. vi, p. 195; also Barnard's American Journal of Education, Vol. v, p. 594.

St. Ambrose

St. Ambrose (c. 340-397), scion of an ancient Roman family was a lawyer by profession and he had held public office under Valentinian I when the People of Milan proclaimed him Bishop of that city. St. Ambrose was preeminently an ecclesiastical teacher whose chief concern was to win over men to Christ. "He is a genuine Roman in whom the ethico-practical note is always dominant. He had neither time nor liking for philosophico-dogmatic speculations. In all his writings he follows some practical purpose. Hence he is often content to reproduce what has been already treated, to turn over for another harvest a field already worked. He often draws abundantly from the ideas of some earlier writers, Christian or pagan, but adapts these thoughts with tact and intelligence to the larger public of his time and his people."[1] The conversion of the skilled rhetorician Augustine was not the least of his successes as an orator. The writings of this great Father and Doctor comprise dogmatical, exegetical and ascetic treatises besides letters and hymns. His "*De Officiis Ministrorum*" a manual of Christian morality, intended primarily for the use of ecclesiastics was probaly the most influential of his works.

St. Augustine

St. Augustine (354-430), the most illustrious among the Doctors of the Church, was born at Tagaste, a small city in Northern Africa, of a pagan father and a Christian mother, St. Monica. He received a brilliant literary education in the schools of Tagaste, Madaura and Carthage and became a professor of rhetoric, teaching first in the schools of his native province, then in Rome and in Milan. His life, as the *Confessions* tells us, had not been so far that of a Christian. His conversion, for which his saintly mother had prayed so long was at last brought about by the persuasive eloquence of St. Ambrose. Augustine was then

1. Bardenhewer, Les Péres de l'Eglise, pp. 728-737

thirty-three. From this time forth he devoted himself entirely to the service of truth and the Church. After the death of his mother he returned to his native Africa, where, as bishop of Hippo, he was for thirty-three years the center of ecclesiastical life. No man had a deeper influence on the thought life of his own and subsequent ages than St. Augustine. His contemporaries placed him in the foremost rank of theologians and this verdict has been sustained by the great critics of the following centuries. In philosophy he had the merit of being the first to synthesize the best elements of pagan inquiries into a coherent system of Christian thought and he was also the founder of the Christian philosophy of history, the first exponent of "the law of progress which governs the history of humanity and of which even those who fight against it become instruments in the hands of Providence according to Divine plan." In the field of education proper his contributions were no less remarkable. His multitudinous works contain many treatises or passages bearing on the purpose of education, its content and the methods of instruction to be used.

Questions for Discussion

1—Show that Christ's work as a teacher was never limited to mere instruction.
2—State and illustrate from the Gospels the "modern" principles of education applied by Christ the teacher.
3—What principles of education are applied in the parable of the Good Samaritan?
4—In view of the fact that denominational religious education is barred from the American public school could we say that Christian parents to-day are confronted by the same situation as that which confronted the early Christians?
5—Contrast the third century and present day preparation for the priesthood.
6—What are the merits of the catechetical method of instruction? Its drawbacks? Contrast it with the Socratic method.
7—Show the educative value of music. Of sacred music.
8—Contrast the curriculum of the catechetical and present day secondary schools.

9—To what extent can it be said that the Sunday school is a substitute for the catechumenal school? For home religious education?

10—Wherein lies the chief value of home religious training?

11—To what extent can it be said that every bishop and every priest is an educator?

12—On what grounds beside religious could you justify the discriminative attitude of the Fathers of the Church concerning the use of pagan literature in Christian schools? What analogy if any between this attitude and modern "censorship"? The teaching of history in American schools?

REFERENCES

Allies, T.W., The Formation of Christendom.
Dill, S., Roman Society in the Last Century of the Roman Empire.
Drane, A.F., Christian Schools and Scholars.
Hatch, Edw., Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church. (Hibbert Lectures 1888)
Hodgson, G., Primitive Christian Education.
Lalanne, J.A., Influence des Pères de l'Eglise sur l'éducation publique pendant les cinq premiers siècles de l'ère Chrétienne.
See also bibliography in Chapter I.

PART II.

MEDIAEVAL EDUCATION

CHAPTER III

THE NEW WESTERN WORLD

The decline of the Roman Empire. The first two centuries of the Roman Empire were on the whole an age of peace and prosperity within and great military prestige without, but a period of rapid decline began with the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180). For nearly a century the throne became the sport of the soldiery and the unguarded frontiers were repeatedly broken through by swarms of Barbarians. Bands of Franks swept over Gaul and Spain; the Goths seized Dacia, raided the Balkan peninsula and their fleets ravaged the coasts of the Mediterranean; Alemanni penetrated as far as the Pô river throwing Italy into a panic, and the Persians crossing the Euphrates defeated and captured a Roman emperor. Political anarchy had brought in commercial and industrial stagnation.

The last century of the Empire

Fortunately strong hands seized the sceptre and the complete collapse of the Empire was postponed for another century. Claudius and Aurelian restored discipline in the army and reestablished the old frontiers; Diocletian reorganized the whole administration, made it more centralized and absolute, taking special precautions against military adventurers. For a while these reforms and the accession of the Christian emperors seemed to have imparted a new vigor to the Roman world. But the secret forces which for centuries had been sapping the strength of the Empire had by this time completed their work of destruction. The whole fabric of pagan society was decayed and

was soon to crumble at the mere touch of the Barbarians. The details of the sad story have been told many times and need not be related here again. One word sums up the condition of the Roman world at the beginning of the fifth century,—exhaustion, dirth of men and material resources. The population of the empire had shrunk to less than one half what it had been in the second century and was still decreasing. The gaps in the ranks of the army could no longer be filled with citizens and the government had to use the dangerous expedient of enlisting Barbarians wholesale, in order to beat off the attacks of other Barbarians. The producing capacity of the Empire had also been vastly reduced while the administrative expenses had reached enormous proportions. The wealthy generally succeeded in escaping their share of the public burden of taxation which fell all the more heavily on the rest of the population. By the end of the fourth century the condition of the latter had become so intolerable that they now feared the tax gatherers much more than they did the invaders, to whom we must now turn our attention.

The coming of new peoples into the Empire. In the fifth and following centuries, hordes of Asiatics, Slavs and Teutons poured into the old provinces of the Roman Empire, where they finally settled as rulers after a period of wandering and plundering. Among the newcomers those who were to exert the deepest influence on the destinies of Europe were the Teutons. They had already come into contact with the Roman world long before this time. At the close of the second century B. C. a number of Germanic and possibly Celtic tribes, known as the Cimbri and Teutones migrated in search of new homes in the fertile South. They were defeated and completely scattered by Marius. Half a century later, Caesar threw back across the Rhine other Germanic tribes who had settled in Gaul under Ariovistus. Augustus attacked the Germans in their

The contact with the Barbarians

North Sea
Anglo-Saxons
Saxons
Suevi
Slavs
Atlantic Ocean
Franks
Burgundians
Alamanni
Bavarians
Lombards
Black Sea
Ostro-Goths
Eastern Empire
Visigoths
Mediterranean Sea
Vandals
THE GERMANIC SETTLEMENTS IN THE 6th C

own country. His ambition seems to have been to carry the frontier of the Empire from the Rhine to the Elbe. But the disaster of the Teutoberg Forest induced him to give up the attempt. The Rhine and the Danube were to remain the boundary between the Empire and the barbarian world, but Rome was now to be on the defensive. For three centuries her legions succeeded fairly well in beating back the attacks of the Germans. But even to accomplish this Rome had to receive large numbers of Germans into her armies as allies.

In 378 the Visigoths, who had been admitted into the province of Mœsia, were driven into rebellion by the outrageous treatment they received from the Roman generals and they inflicted a crushing defeat upon the emperor Valens at Adrianople. A few years later (408-415) they came into Italy and sacked Rome, then passed into Gaul and Spain where they founded a kingdom, which at one time extended from the river Loire to the strait of Gibraltar. At about the same time, other barbarian hordes crossed the Rhine and overran Gaul and Spain. The Burgundians settled in southeastern Gaul; the Suevi and Alans in western Spain; the Vandals, after stopping for some time in southern Spain, passed into Africa, where they founded a kingdom of which Carthage was the capital; the Franks, a confederation of high German tribes, who for some time had dwelt on the banks of the Rhine also began to move south and they occupied what is now Belgium and northern France. For a while Teutons and Romani[1] laid aside their rivalry and rallied under the same banner in order to meet a common enemy, Attila, whose hordes of Huns reenforced by tributary peoples were threatening the West with ruin. Defeated at Châlons (451) Attila turned against Rome but was induced to with-

Teutonic Settlements

1. Romanized inhabitants of the Empire.

draw by Pope St. Leo I. In 476 the Roman legions now mostly composed of German mercenaries deposed the last Roman emperor, Romulus Augustulus, and set up in his place one of their chiefs, Odoacer, as king of Italy. In 486 Chlodwig (Clovis) king of the Franks, destroyed at the battle of Soissons the last remnant of Roman power in Gaul. His conversion to the Catholic faith following his victory over the Alemanni, (496)[1] greatly strengthened his power over the Gallo-Roman population of his kingdom and made him the champion of the Catholic cause amongst the neighboring nations. In 507 he wrested from the Visigoths the greater part of the territory they possessed north of the Pyrenees. Under his successors, the Franks extended their power over the rest of Gaul and beyond the Rhine. In 493 the Ostrogoths, under Theodoric the Great, defeated Odoacer and set up a new kingdom, which in turn made room for that of the Lombards (568-572). At the beginning of the fifth century the Roman legions had withdrawn from Britain in order to go to the defense of Italy which was then threatened by the Visigoths. The Britons, harassed by the untamed Celts of the north and the Teutonic pirates in the south, appealed for help to other Teutons in Denmark and northern Germany.—Jutes, Angles and Saxons, who answered the call but made themselves masters of the country. Such in brief was the political checkerboard in what had been the Roman Empire of the West at the close of the sixth century. Other Germanic and Asiatic Barbarians were to harass central and western Europe in the following centuries, but these fresh invasions did not materially change the situation.

1. Clovis' wife Clotilda was a Burgundian Catholic princess; she had long tried to win her husband over to her faith. During the battle against the Alemanni Clovis vowed that he would become a Catholic if he won the victory. The Alemanni were defeated and Clovis was baptized with three thousand of his warriors by St. Remy, Bishop of Reims.

Baptism of Clovis.

(Taken from a woodcut in "La Mère des Histoires" published by the University of Paris in the fifteenth century.)

During the first two centuries following the final partition of the Roman Empire into East and West (395), the Greek or eastern Empire succeeded fairly well in beating off the Slavs in the Balkans and the Persians in Asia, but a far more dangerous enemy was still to appear. Starting from Medina in 622 the fanatic followers of Mahommed soon made themselves masters of the whole Arabic peninsula and within ten years of the death of the Prophet, they had destroyed the new Persian empire and wrested Syria and Egypt from the Greeks. Less than a century after the establishment of Islam they had pushed their conquests in Asia as far as India and across the northern coast of Africa into Spain. In 732 they crossed into Gaul with a huge army but were defeated between Tours and Poitiers by the Franks of Charles Martel. Three centuries before the battle of Châlons had decided that western civilization would be Aryan and not Turanian. The battle of Poitiers had a similar effect; it stopped the advance of the Semetic race in the west. The Arabs remained masters of Spain for several centuries and there developed a civilization which was not without brilliancy and had some influence on the young Latin-Teutonic nations.

Islam in the East

in the West

Who the Teutons were. At the close of the fourth century, i.e. on the eve of the great migrations, the more important groups of Teutonic tribes were the Goths, the Vandals, the Suevi, the Burgundians, the Lombards, the Alemanni, the Franks and the Saxons. In addition to these, mention should be made of the Northmen or Scandinavians, but they were not to appear in history until the eighth century. Within the Empire, especially along the Rhine and the Danube, there were already thousands of Germans, as the Romans called the Teutons, who had filtered in as allies, soldiers, colonists, and were partly romanized through contact with Roman culture. Those still dwelling in the forests beyond the Rhine and the Danube were not without some

kind of crude civilization. They had no real alphabet or literature but they possessed simple ballads and epics such as the Song of Beowulf, which were transmitted orally and sung to the accompaniment of some primitive musical instrument. They dwelt in villages surrounded by palisades and lived chiefly on the cattle they raised and by hunting and fishing. Their handicrafts were primitive and their trade was barter. Tacitus, on whom we chiefly depend for our information concerning these early Teutons, tells us that they were remarkable for their fierce blue eyes, flaxen hair, huge bodies, their warlike ardor, their immoderate eating and excessive drinking. Their domestic relations were remarkable for their purity and their affection. They revered truth and fidelity to kin and friend; they possessed a deep sense of individual liberty, of the worth of man and they felt deeply the mystery of human life. They were politically organized into villages, cantons and tribes; the village and tribe had each its popular assembly and chief; all matters of importance were decided by the assembly. Socially the Germans were divided into nobles, freemen, freedmen, serfs and slaves; the first two classes only had a right to take part in the assembly; the nobles formed the council of the king. The Teutonic religion was a rude polytheism in which Wuotan, the war god, held the place of honor. He presided in Walhalla, the Teutonic heaven, where the warriors divided their time between hunting, fighting, and carousing. There remains to be mentioned one feature of their institutional life which was to have a deep influence on mediaeval society. Every great chief was surrounded by a band of companions who were the members of his household, who shared the dangers of their lord in the hunt and on the battlefields, devoting their energies and life to his honor and safety, and who received from him in return food, weapons and plunder. This element of personal loyalty to a lord was at the bottom of

the relation between suzerain and vassal in feudal times.[1]

The spread of Christianity outside the Roman world. During the first three centuries, Christianity was chiefly confined within the boundaries of the Empire, but in the fourth century it began to spread rapidly among the neighboring nations, in Persia, Armenia, Arabia, and Abyssinia. In the West, outside of the Roman world, Ireland was the first nation to be converted to the Christian religion and the apostle of Ireland, to whom, under God, her conversion is due, was St. Patrick. He was sent to Ireland, by Pope St. Celestine I who consecrated him bishop and made him a patrician in order to add to the dignity of the Saint's mission. Before his arrival the Irish were pagans who worshipped the sun and the stars on the hills and the mountains. St. Patrick soon numbered his converts by the tens of thousands, among them kings, princes and princesses, druids and lords; long before the close of his apostolate he had the consolation of having won over to Christianity the whole nation. Sees were founded in all parts of the island, priests were ordained, churches were built, monasteries were erected which became famous for their sanctity and learning and from which went forth missionaries for other nations. There is no example in history of a whole nation passing so suddenly and so completely from idolatry to the faith of Christ, and there is none either of a people holding more steadfastly to their faith in spite of centuries of relentless persecution. In Britain there were already many flourishing Christian communities in the fourth century, as is attested by the fact that three British bishops, —Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelphius of Lincoln, attended the council of Arles in 314. The conversion of Scotland however did not begin in earnest until the fifth century. St. Ninian and St. Palladius were the

Ireland

Scotland and England

1. See Chap. VI.

apostles of southern and central Scotland; St. Columba, the patriarch of the Irish monks, was the apostle of northern Scotland, known to the Romans as Caledonia. He labored among the Highlanders for thiry-four years and when he died in 597, Christianity was firmly established among the Scots.

On the continent

Among the Germanic nations the first to receive the light of faith seem to have been the Goths. A Gothic bishop, named Theophilus, attended the council of Nice in 325; St. Cyril of Jerusalem in 347 mentions the Goths as Christians and says that they had bishops, priests, monks and holy virgins. One of their bishops, Ulphilas, devised a Gothic alphabet and translated part of the Bible into the Gothic language; this translation is still extant.[1] The Goths however were Arian Christians, and from them Arianism passed to other tribes. The first Germanic nation to adopt the Catholic faith was that of the Franks, who were partly converted under Clovis at the beginning of the sixth century. As a consequence of the invasion of the Anglo-Saxons, Britain relapsed into heathenism with the exception of Wales and Cornwall, where the remnants of the defeated Britons took refuge. The conversion of the new rulers of Britain was begun by St. Augustine and his companions, whom the great Pope St. Gregory I sent to the island in 596, but it was not until the close of the following century that the work was completed. Central Europe, Scandinavia, and Russia were still pagan at the beginning of the sixth century. The conversion of the Frisians, in what is to-day northern Holland, was the work of St. Willibrord; that of Germany beyond the Rhine was due mainly to the Anglo-Saxon monk, Winfrid, known to history as St. Boniface, in the first half of the eighth century; the continental

1. The library of the University of Upsala in Sweden possesses a manuscript of this translation.

Saxons, however, were not converted until half a century later through the efforts of Charlemagne. Denmark, Norway and Sweden did not really accept Christianity until well into the eleventh century. The Slavs of central Europe were converted in the ninth century by the two brothers, St. Cyril and St. Methodius; the Magyars, a warlike people of the Finnish race, were brought into the fold of Christ chiefly through the efforts of their king, St. Stephen, at the beginning of the eleventh century; Poland received the Christian religion from Bohemia in the tenth and eleventh centuries and Russia at about the same time from Constantinople. The conversion of the Finns occurred in the twelfth century, that of the Prussians in the thirteenth and of the Lithuanians in the fourteenth. Thus it was only fourteen centuries after its foundation that the Christian religion was planted in the last stronghold of paganism in Europe.

The impress of Christianity upon the newcomers. It is not to be assumed that the conversion of the Barbarians was followed by a sudden change in their life and modes of thought. With the exception of the Irish, whose transformation took place in an astonishingly short time, the change of the fierce heathen into a peaceful, God-fearing, law-abiding Christian did not become an accomplished fact until after centuries of relentless work on the part of the Church. The picture which St. Gregory of Tours[1] has left us of the condition of Gaul at the close of the sixth century, one hundred years after the invasion, is substantially that of every country where the Teutons had settled. It shows us the Barbarian almost as untamed in his new settlement as he was in the forests of Germany. Order, discipline, obedience to law had become things of the past; the conquered population were constantly in dread of pillage, incendiarism, murder at the hands of the conquerors, and

1. St. Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum.

acts of violence from the constituted authorities. Learning and culture outside of the Church had disappeared; trade and industry were dying out and even agriculture had become of the most rudimentary character. The Church was the only force which prevented the western world from falling back into a state of nature. In her own government she preserved the form of the admirable Roman administration; she kept alive the traditions of the ancient culture; her bishops and priests, the only men of learning, then became the advisors and secretaries of kings and princes; they persuaded them to adopt with Christianity many of the customs and practices of the old civilization and induced them to mitigate the lot of the conquered. Armed with threats of excommunication, the bishops could awe them into submission. The activity of the Church, her zeal, her efforts to improve the condition of the people, to bring into the body social and politic, a little more justice, a little less inequality, are attested by the decrees of her councils. In Gaul alone, more than eighty were held from the sixth to the eighth century. That of Lyons in 588 decreed that there should be in every city a special house for the lepers where they should be cared for at the expense of the Church; the Council of Châlons forbade the sale of slaves outside of the country and the Fathers of the council boldly affirmed that "religion demands that all slaves be freed from the bondage of servitude." The Council of Orléans in 511 granted to every Church the privilege of sanctuary, which often in these troubled times was the only protection of the weak against the strong.

The work of the Church

The admirable educative influence of the Church in the early Middle Ages has been witnessed to by many writers but by none perhaps better than by Draper:

Draper quoted

"Of the great ecclesiastics, many had risen from the humblest ranks of society, and these men true to their democratic instincts, were often found to be the inflexible supporters of right against

might. Eventually coming to be the depositaries of the knowledge that then existed, they opposed intellect to brute force, in many instances successfully, and by the examples of the organization of the Church, which was essentially republican, they showed how representative systems may be introduced into the State. Nor was it over communities and nations that the Church displayed her chief power. Never in the world before was there such a system. From her central seat at Rome, her allseeing eye, like that of Providence itself, could equally take in a hemisphere at a glance, or examine the private life of any individual. Her boundless influences enveloped kings in their palaces, and relieved the beggar at the monastery gate. In all Europe there was not a man too obscure, too insignificant or too desolate for her. Surrounded by her solemnities every man received his name at her altar; her bells chimed at his marriage, her knell tolled at his funeral. She extorted from him the secrets of his life at her confessionals, and punished his faults by her penances. In his hour of sickness and trouble her servants sought him out, teaching him, by her exquisite litanies and prayers to place his reliance on God, or strengthening him for the trials of life by the example of the holy and just. Her prayers had an efficacy to give repose to the souls of his dead. When even to his friends his lifeless body had become an offense, in the name of God she received it into her consecrated ground, and under her shadow he rested till the great reckoning day. From little better than a slave she raised his wife to be his equal, and forbidding him to have more than one, met her recompense for those noble deeds in a firm friend at every fireside. Discountenancing all impure love, she put around that fireside the children of one mother and made that mother little less than sacred in their eyes. In ages of lawlessness and rapine, among people but a step above savages, she vindicated the inviolability of her precincts against the hand of power, and made her temples a refuge and sanctuary for the despairing and oppressed. Truly she was the shadow of a great rock in many a weary land."[1]

Monasticism. In the work of reclaiming Europe from the grip of barbarism during the period under discussion, the Church had no better ally than monasticism, and the remaining pages of this chapter, together with the next one, will be devoted to a consideration, in general outline, of this great Catholic institution and its contributions to western education. The term itself refers to a certain mode of life, the condition of "persons living in seclusion from the world under religious vows and subject to a fixed rule." Meaning of the term

1. Draper, John W., Intellectual Development of Europe, Vol. II, pp. 145-46.

Taken in this broad sense, monasticism or monachism may be found in other religions than the Christian and within the latter it claims all types of religious: monks, nuns, friars, canons regular, clerics regular, as well as the orders of brotherhoods and sisterhoods, founded in the last four centuries. Strictly speaking however the term monastisism should be confined to the life of the monks or nuns, properly so called, i.e. of persons that have adopted the monastic life for its own sake and accepted its consequences for themselves; they may be engaged and, as a matter of fact, have been engaged, in the most varied occupations, but their labors are all subordinated to the observance of the monastic life.

The orders of friars, clerics regular, brothers and sisters, on the other hand, have all some special aim such as preaching, teaching, caring for the poor, nursing the sick, liberating captives, before which monastic observances have more or less to give way. The present treatment of monasticism will be confined to the restricted meaning of the term.

Characteristics of Monasticism

The chief characteristic of Christian monasticism, whether broad or narrow, is organized asceticism, a rigid discipline of the lower self, of the bodily wants, of the desires, appetites, passions for the sake of religious perfection, of progress in virtue for the love of God. Through prayer and the Sacraments, through penance and mortification, the Christian religious endeavours to remove the obstacles in the way of the perfect spiritual life, as illustrated in the life and teachings of Jesus Christ. It is for the attainment of this end that the religious makes the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, thus renouncing what men generally consider of most value in this world: property, family ties, and personal liberty. To these three vows was added in the case of the mediaeval Benedictine, the vow of stability, binding him to the house where his vows were made.

"Translated into the acts of his daily life, this meant that his entire existence was given over to prayer, labor and the observance of his vows. It meant that he freely renounced all innocent and legitimate pleasures and privileges, forswore all honors, emoluments and ambitions, and supported himself as a member of the corporate body to which he belonged, by his daily toil. His stock of clothes was limited to his immediate needs and was of the roughest texture. His food was reduced to a working minimum and was austerely plain. His cot was a hard one, and its use was confined to what was barely sufficient for the rest of his toil-worn body. Beyond this his time was spent before the altar or behind the plow, in the scriptorium or the workshop. And this regime was ordained to subjugate the body, that the soul might take on the liberty of Christ."[1]

Origin in the East

The Christian monastic movement began at the close of the third century and had its origin in the Christian ideal itself, as set forth in the evangelical counsels. To those who aim at Christian perfection in order to make sure of their eternal salvation, Christ's advice is to live in poverty, chastity, and under obedience for the Gospel's sake. Among the secondary causes contributing to the development of the monastic movement, the following should be mentioned: the horror which the disorders and vices of pagan society inspired to many Christians, and their belief that the pagan world had become the kingdom of Satan, from which they should flee for fear of losing their soul; the persecutions of Diocletian ,which drove many into the deserts, and the still wide-spread belief in the second advent of Christ, which naturally enough turned the thoughts of many Christians from the things of this world to those of the spiritual life.

From the very beginning, monastic life assumed two different forms, the eremitical or solitary type and the cenobitical or community type. Both appeared in Egypt at the close of the third and the beginning of the fourth century respectively; St. Anthony may be considered the

1. O'Connor, John B., Monasticism and Civilization, p. 4.

founder of the first and St. Pachomius that of the second. The hermits or solitary monks had no common rule of life; each one had his own practices suited to his ability and disposition; their life was spent in fasting and penances, in prayer, psalm singing, the reading of the Scriptures, and some kind of manual labor usually the weaving of flax. This type of monastic life, at one time very common in the East, never became prominent in the West. In striking contrast with the freedom and individualism of the life of the hermit, was the rigid discipline under which the cenobites lived in their monasteries, ten of which had been founded by Pachomius alone before he died. Each monastery was both an industrial and spiritual community in which practically every kind of trade was practiced. The monks were distributed amongst the houses of the monastery according to trade and there was an abbot over the whole community. It was this Pachomian plan, revised and perfected by St. Basil the Great, which ultimately came to prevail in the East. The early beginnings of monastic life in the West may be placed around 340. In that year St. Athanasius visited Rome, accompanied by two disciples of St. Anthony and acquainted Italy with the life of the Egyptian monks; monastic communities were soon after established in Italy and the other provinces of the Western Empire. The most famous of these early western monasteries were those of Ligugé and Marmoutier, founded by St. Martin of Tours, that of Lerins, founded by St. Honoratus, and the abbey of St. Victor at Marseilles founded by the famous ascetical writer, John Cassian. In this early phase, western monasticism still had a strong eastern character; there was as yet no general code of rules; each house depended for its own observances on its abbot and there were many practices ill adapted to the climate and living conditions of the West. The real patriarch of western monasticism was St. Benedict of Nur-

Beginnings in the West

sia. It was his wisdom and genius which made monasticism the wonderful instrument for Christian civilization which it has proved to be in western Europe.

Questions for Discussion

1—What was preserved of the Roman organization by the Church?
2—To what extent had the population of the Empire been educated at the time of the invasions?
3—What did the Teutons bring into western society?
4—What have been the contributions of paganism and Christianity to western civilization?
5—Try to picture the condition of Europe now, had Attila conquered at Châlons.
6—How can we account for the fact that the invasions of the Goths and Franks were less destructive than those of the Anglo Saxons and Vandals?
7—Describe the civilizing influence of the Papacy at home and abroad.
8—Compare conditions of Europe at the time of the barbarian invasion and now.

SOURCES

Ammianus, History.
Ausonius, Poems.
Bede (Ven.), Ecclesiastical History of the Anglo Saxons.
Gregory of Tours, (St.), History of the Franks.
Jerome, (St.), Letters.
Jordanes, Origin and Deeds of the Goths.
Prosper of Aquitaine, Chronicle.
Sidonius Apollinaris, Panegyrics.
Symmachus, Letters.
Tacitus, Germania.

REFERENCES

Adams, Geo. B., Civilization during the Middle Ages.
Bury, J. B., History of the Later Roman Empire.
Church, R. W., The Beginnings of the Middle Ages.
Guizot, F. P., History of Civilization in Europe.
Hodgkin, Thos., Italy and her invaders.
Ozanam, F., Germains avant le Christianisme.

CHAPTER IV

WESTERN MONASTICISM

The original Rule

The Rule of St. Benedict. In strong contrast with most eastern rules, that of St. Benedict is free from all excesses and extraordinary austerities; it is a code of sober regulations, based on sound common sense, and admirably adapted to Christian community life. It is composed of seventy-three chapters, of which nine deal with the duties of the abbot, thirteen with worship, twenty-nine with discipline, ten with the internal administration of the monastery, and the remaining twelve with miscellaneous topics. In its original draft, the Rule contains no provision for centralized government of the whole Benedictine family, such as now obtain in religious orders, properly so called. Each monastery was to constitute an independent community. The only bond of union amongst the various houses was to be the rule itself and their obedience to the Holy See. This early Benedictine constitution lasted for about five centuries after the death of the founder. An attempt at centralization was made at the beginning of the ninth century, by St. Benedict of Aniane,[1] but the change was short lived. The first important reform was started a century later by St. Odo, abbot of Cluny in Burgundy. Its object was to restore in their pristine purity the early Benedictine ideals and to preserve them through a centralized form of government, vested in the hands of the abbot of Cluny. In the twelfth century, the Cluniac congregation

Reforms

1. See chapter V.

included more than three hundred monasteries, and their mother-house had become the real religious center of Europe. Other reforms followed that of Cluny, aiming frequently at a greater austerity of life than that prescribed in the original Rule, and sometimes resulting in the forming of an entirely new order, as was the case with the Cistercians.[1] Not uncommonly, the reform permitted the admission of lay brothers, exempt from some of the religious observances and intrusted with the menial work of the house and the duties involving intercourse with the outside world.[2] Thus the clerical or choir brethren of the community, could devote all their time to prayer, pastoral or missionary work, and to literary pursuits. Though St. Benedict seems to have written his Rule solely for the benefit of the monasteries which he himself founded, it soon spread to other religious houses in Italy and Gaul, where it gradually displaced all the other rules. By the ninth century, western monasticism had become distinctly Benedictine with the exception of Ireland, Wales and Scotland, where the Celtic Rule[3] retained its hold on many monasteries. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the number of Benedictine foundations had risen to thirty-seven thousand. Up to that time the Order had given to the Church twenty-four popes, two hundred cardinals, seven thousand archbishops, fifteen thousand bishops, and one thousand five hundred canonized saints. It also numbered amongst its members twenty emperors, ten empresses, forty-seven kings and fifty queens, besides sons or daughters of kings and emperors, and thousands of other members of the nobility.[4]

Spread of the Benedictine Rule

1. 1. Founded at Citeaux 1098 by St. Robert, Abbot of Molesme.
2. Such was the case with the Cistercians.
3. The Rule followed in monasteries of Irish origin; it was more austere than the original Benedictine Rule.
4. Statement of the Order to Pope John XXII.

General educative influence of the Benedictine Rule. Strange though it may sound to modern ears, it was not the purpose of St. Benedict to found an Order of clerics, with clerical duties and offices; he wrote his rule for the benefit of laymen who, like himself, desired to live as fully as possible in conformity with the counsels of the Gospel. "My words, he says, are addressed to thee, whoever thou art, that renouncing thy own will, dost put on the strong and bright armor of obedience in order to fight for the Lord Christ, our true king."[1] In these simple words the Saint formulates at once the purpose of his Rule, and its most characteristic feature, the spirit of obedience. So important indeed in St. Benedict's eye is the principle of obedience, that he devotes a special chapter to its discussion. He recurs to it again and again, and he even goes so far as to call it one of the positive works to which the monk binds himself,—labor obedientiae. And here we have the first great lesson that the Benedictines taught the mediaeval world: the lesson, viz., of renouncing one's own will, of practicing obedience for the love of God, a lesson, perhaps, no less needed to-day than it was fourteen centuries ago. Another characteristic feature of the Rule which was also fraught with the richest promises for the future of Europe, is its attitude towards labor. Work is not, so says St. Benedict in substance, a badge of servitude as conceived by the civilization of his time, but the natural and universal lot of mankind. Idleness opens the door to every kind of evil and leads to ruin; even prayer without work is powerless to save us; nay, work is the best of prayers, when it is done for the love of Christ, and it is in the discipline of such work, accomplished in the service of God, that man finds his regeneration and salvation. Finally the third great lesson which St. Benedict taught the young western

It taught obedience

the dignity of manual labor

1. Rule of St. Benedict, Prologue.

nations, was that of Christian democracy. "Whether the novice be rich or poor," so reads the Benedictine rule, "bond or free, young or old, we must not enquire; neither age nor condition matter amongst monks; for God made no difference between the soul of a slave and that of a freeman." Commenting upon this aspect of monastic life, Charles Kingsley, says: democracy

> "They (the monasteries) were the greatest witnesses against feudal caste. With them was neither high-born nor low-born, rich nor poor: worth was their only test; the meanest serf entering there might become the lord of knights and vassals, the counsellor of kings and princes. Men may talk of democracy,—those old monasteries were the most democratic institutions, the world had ever till then seen. 'A man's a man for 'a that', was not only talked of in there, but carried out in practice,—only not in anarchy and as a cloak for licentiousness; but under those safeguards of strict discipline, and almost military order, without which men may call themselves free, and yet be only slaves to their own passions. Yet paradoxical as it may seem, in those monasteries was preserved the sacred fire of modern liberty, through those feudal centuries, when all the outside world was doing its best to trample it out. Remember,—as a single instance,—that in the abbot's lodging in Bury-St. Edmunds, the Magna Charta was drawn out, before being presented to John at Runnymede."[1]

Contributions to western industry and government. If we now turn to a more detailed consideration of the monastic contributions to western civilization, the first one to claim our attention is the work of the monks in agriculture. This first and most essential of the useful arts, which the Romans had brought to a remarkable degree of perfection, was fast disappearing in the turmoil of the invasions. To the intelligence, industry and perseverance of the monks, Europe is indebted for its restoration. "The Benedictines have been," says Guizot, "the great clearers of land in Europe. A colony, a little swarm of monks settled in places nearly uncultivated, often in the midst of a pagan population, in Germany for instance, or in Brittany; there, at once missionaries and laborers, they accomplished their Agriculture

1. Kingsley, Chas., The Roman and the Teuton, p. 239.

double service, through peril and fatigue."[1] Instances could be cited by the thousands, of wild forests, malaria-breeding marshes and barren moors, changed into rich meadows, or waving wheat or corn fields, by the untiring labors of the Benedictines. They not only saved agriculture, but they advanced it far beyond the theory and practice of the early Middle ages. They practiced the rotation of crops and the custom of letting the land lie fallow, after a few years; they introduced new crops from foreign parts and they became experts in fruit growing and cattle raising, in pisciculture and apiculture. No less worthy of note was the work done by them to improve the condition of the country surrounding the monastery and that of its population. They built dykes to protect the land from the danger of floods, they constructed extensive systems of irrigation, thus increasing the acreage under cultivation; they built bridges and opened highways to facilitate travel and commercial intercourse; they established markets for the sale of their own products and stock, and those of the neighborhood; they erected grist mills and ovens for the benefit of the surrounding families, and to many poor farmers, the monks rented large tracts of their lands at merely nominal rates; to these poor tenants were granted "perpetuity of tenure, continuous culture of the fields, equality of rents, new tracts of reclaimed lands, mildness of administration, and a minimum of expense in the conduct of their vast properties."[2]

Other useful arts

But the energy, skill and industry of the monks, was not confined to the labor of the farm. They practiced and taught the surrounding population every one of the fine arts as well as the useful arts. They were carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, locksmiths, spinners, weavers, embroiderers,

1. Guizot, F.P., Civilisation en France, lecon 14.
2. Shahan, Th. J. (Rt. Rev.), The Middle Ages, p. 154.

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

Monastery at Fontfroide near Narbonne, France. (Built in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.)

gold and silversmiths; they were architects and engineers, painters and sculptors. No member of the community could remain idle; the Rule demanded that each and every one should be engaged in some kind of work suited to his ability and strength, and whatever the occupation, the workmanship was to be thorough and whenever possible artistic in character. And so it was that the monastery became at once for the young and untutored populations of the West the agricultural school, the trade and technical school. Were it not for monasticism, the revival of the industrial arts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries could never have taken place, and it is hard to see how, without it, the artistic revival of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries could have been possible. But the material benefits coming from monasticism to the western world did not stop there.

Monastic charity

Every monastery was a center from which charity radiated. In the person of the poor, of the old, of the infirm, the monk saw a brother in need whom he felt it his bounden duty to receive with open hands and heart. Every monastery had a house adjoining it in which the traveller, without any distinction of class or race or country, was always sure to find shelter and refreshment.

> "So long as a monastery existed, no poor man could go hungry, and the duty of giving to the hungry and the poor was looked on everywhere as the highest of all charity. War, pestilence, famine worked their ravages, it is true, but in ordinary life the hungry and starving poor were rare in medieval Europe. Nor was this accomplished by statute law, nor with painful humiliation, but in love for Jesus' sake, because He, too, had been a poor man, because the poor man bore the image and likeness of the Creator even as his richer brother; because after all the rich man was only the steward of his wealth and not its absolute owner."[1]

Towns and cities originated around monasteries

Thousands of towns and cities originated around monasteries and from them learned their first lesson in municipal government. Luxeuil, a thriving little city in eastern

1. Shahan, Th. J. (Rt. Rev.) The Middle Ages, p. 75.

France, owes its origin to a monastery, founded there in 585, by St. Columbanus. Under his fourth successor this community numbered already several hundred monks and a town was rapidly growing around it. In the seventh century the abbey of Luxeuil was the religious and intellectual center of Frankland; its schools attracted pupils from all parts, and many of them became leaders in Church and State. Like other great mediaeval monasteries, Luxeuil sent forth colonies which became so many religious and industrial centers, in Gaul, Germany and Italy. Fulda, at present the see of an important diocese in western Germany, was but a wilderness in the forest of Buchonia at the beginning of the eighth century. In 744, the site was selected by St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, for the erection of a monastery, which it was the intention of the Saint to make an outpost of Christian civilization in those parts. So rapid was the growth of Fulda, that within a few years of its foundation it had to send forth a number of colonies, which became the nuclei of so many new civil communities; at their head stood the original establishment, which for a long time held in Germany, the position occupied in France, first by St. Martin of Tours, later on by Luxeuil, Cluny, Citeaux, and Bec. Cluny, a small city in what is to-day eastern France, had the same monastic origin. At the beginning of the tenth century, Cluniacum, the future Cluny, was but a hunting lodge, built on the ruins of a Roman villa in a thick forest, known as the Dark Valley; the site was the property of Duke William the Pious of Aquitaine, who donated it to Berno abbot of Baume. The latter's successor, St. Odo, reformed the Rule of St. Benedict for his community; this reform was the beginning of the prosperity and glory of Cluny, which soon became the mother house of a number of monasteries not only in France but in other countries. It had the remarkable distinction of

giving three Popes[1] to the Church, and by the beginning of the eleventh century it had become the intellectual, artistic and religious metropolis of Europe. It was in Cluny and its priories, that were trained the scholars who made possible the renaissance of the twelfth century, and the artistic traditions of the Cluniacs did much to foster the talent of architects, painters and sculptors in the West.[2] Meanwhile there had clustered around the abbey a city which at the beginning of the eleventh century had already some importance. Abbot St. Hugh granted it a charter in 1090 and one of his successors, Thibault of Vermandois, surrounded it with walls. Werden, Nordhausen, Münster in Germany, Aurillac, Tulle, St. Quentin, St. Malo in France, St. Gall, Glaris, Zurich in Switzerland, Ghent and Malines in Belgium, Bath, Oxford, St. Albans in England, to mention only a few of the most important, had the same monastic origin as Luxeuil, Fulda and Cluny.

The preservation of learning. From the very beginning, monasticism concerned itself with education in the literary or school sense of the term. Thus we read in the Rule of St. Pachomius:

"He who will renounce the world . . . . must remain a few days outside the gate, and shall be taught the Lord's Prayer. and so many Psalms as he can learn . . . . There shall be nobody whatever in the monastery who will not learn to read, and

1. St. Gregory VII, Urban II, Paschal II.

2. Until the erection of St. Peter's in Rome, Cluny's was the largest church in Christendom; with its narthex, it measured 555 feet in length, it had five naves supported by sixty pillars, four towers and no less than 300 windows; together with the conventual buildings, it covered an area of 25 acres. It was at Cluny that took place in 1245, the famous interview, between St. Louis IX. and Pope Innocent IV., concerning the deposition of emperor Frederick II. Some idea of the size of this great Cluniac establishment may be had from the fact that, without the least inconvenience to themselves, the monks could accommodate, with all their retinue, the Pope, two patriarchs, 17 archbishops and bishops, the king and his mother, the Emperor of Constantinople and a number of princes and dignitaries.

get by heart some part of the Scriptures, at least the New Testament and the Psalter."

Thus in St. Benedict's Rule:

"Idleness is the enemy of the soul. And therefore, at fixed times, the brothers ought to be occupied in manual labor; and again, at fixed times, in sacred reading. Therefore we believe that, according to this disposition, both seasons ought to be arranged; so that from Easter until the Calends of October, going out early, from the first until the fourth hour, they shall do what labor may be necessary. Moreover from the fourth hour until about the sixth, they shall be free for reading . . . . But in the days of Lent, from dawn until the third full hour, they shall be free for their readings; and until the tenth full hour they shall do the labor that is enjoined on them. In which days of Lent they shall all receive separate books from the library; which they shall read entirely through in order. These books are to be given out on the first day of Lent. Above all there shall certainly be appointed one or two elders who shall go round the monastery at the hours in which the brothers are engaged in reading and see to it that no troublesome brother chances to be found who is open to idleness and trifling, and is not intent on his reading; being not only of no use to himself, but also stirring up the others. . . . Moreover on Sunday all shall engage in reading: excepting those who are deputed to various duties. But if any one be so negligent and lazy that he will not or cannot read, some task shall be imposed upon him that he can do; so that he be not idle."[1]

The copying of manuscripts

It is true that these early Rules do not contain any specific provision concerning schools or the making of books, but it is evident that if the monks must read they must have books and they must be taught how to read; there must be schools and teachers; there must be libraries and copyists. The copying of manuscripts took place in the scriptorium or general writing room which from an early date became an architectural feature of every monastery. Those who were physically unfit for the heavy labor of the field, were commonly assigned to the work of the copyist, which was held in very high esteem by the followers of St. Benedict. Cassiodorus, a contemporary of St. Benedict, and once a minister of the Gothic kings in Italy, seems to have been the organizer of the work of copyists in the monastery which he founded at Vivarium,

1. Rule of St. Benedict, passim.

in Calabria. He speaks very highly of this work, in the Rules he laid down for his monks. Sometimes, special cells were assigned to the copyist, but the general writing room seems to have been the more favorite arrangement. It had this advantage over the special cell, that an edition of a dozen or more copies of the same work could be made at once, one monk dictating to the copyists what was to be printed on the parchment. An interesting description of this kind of work is given by West in his account of the labors of Alcuin at Tours:

"We can almost reconstruct the scene. In the intervals between the hours of prayers and the observance of the round of cloister life, came hours for the copying of books, under the presiding genius of Alcuin. The young monks file into the scriptorium and one of them is given the precious parchment volume containing a work of Bede, Isidore or Augustine, or else some portion of the Latin Scriptures, or even a heathen author. He reads slowly and clearly, at a measured rate, while all the others, seated at their desks, take down his words, and thus perhaps a score of copies are made at once. Alcuin's observant eye watches each in turn, and his correcting hand points out the mistakes in orthography and punctuation. The master of Charles the Great, in that true humility that is the charm of his whole behavior, makes himself the writing-master of his monks, stooping to the drudgery of faithfully and gently correcting their many puerile mistakes and all for the love of studies and the love of Christ. Under such guidance, and deeply impressed by the fact that in the copying of a few books they were saving learning and knowledge from perishing and thereby offering a service most acceptable to God, the copying in the scriptorium went on in sobriety from day to day."[1]

Book making

The making of a single book was a task of no mean proportions, requiring besides the work of the actual copyist, the coöperation of a number of monks. In the first place the materials had to be manufactured. Paper, though used very early in the East was not known in the West until the twelfth century and the conquest of Egypt by the Saracens, in the seventh century, stopped the importation of papyrus from that country. Parchment had to be used for books as well as for all documents, both private and

1. West, A.F., Alcuin, pp. 72-73.

public. It was made of the skins of sheep, goats, calves, asses, or wild animals, and it required a long process of preparation, and a high degree of skill. Ink too had to be manufactured. Black ink was commonly used for the text, red ink was reserved for titles, and gold or silver ink for editions de luxe. Before the copyist actually began the work of transcribing the text, the pages had to be delicately ruled by some brother monk, and when the body of the work was finished, it had to be examined by the "corrector" or proof reader. Then it passed into the hands of the "rubricator," whose business it was to write out initials and titles. If the work was to be an elaborate one, it was illuminated by the artist of the monastery. Then the pages were arranged in order, sewed together, bound between oaken boards, covered with pigskin and provided with metal clasps. Nuns were no less actively engaged than the monks in this copying of manuscripts and not a few of them attained prominence in it. That the labor of the copyist was not to be purely mechanical, but was intended to have a moral and intellectual effect on the writer, is indicated by the following prayer, used in the blessing of the scriptorium: "Vouchsafe, O Lord, to bless this scriptorium of Thy servants and all that dwell therein; that whatsoever sacred writings shall be here read or written by them, they may receive with understanding, and profit by the same, through Our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen." Cassiodorus whose views in the matter became those of western monasticism, sets forth clearly in his Rule the spirit in which the work of the copyist should be done. The greatest care and watchfulness, was taken by the monks, in order to safeguard the accuracy of the text, in the work of transcription. In evidence to that point it may be interesting to read the instruction of Alcuin to his scribes in the scriptorium at Tours.

"Here, let the scribes sit, who copy out the words of the Divine

Law, and likewise the hallowed sayings of the Holy Fathers. Let them beware of interspersing their own frivolities in the words they copy, nor let a triffler's hand make mistakes through haste. Let them earnestly seek out for themselves correctly written books to transcribe, that the flying pen may speed along the right path. Let them distinguish the proper sense by colons and commas, and let them set the points, each one in its due place, and let not him who reads the words to them either read falsely or pause suddenly. It is a noble work to write out Holy Books, nor shall the scribe fail of his due reward."[1]

The classics preserved

It was but natural that the monks should be chiefly interested in the transcription and diffusion of the sacred literature, and they have been accused of destroying classical manuscripts wholesale, in order to secure parchment on which to write their favorite text. That the monks were responsible for a great many palimpsests, no intelligent person could deny, but most of these appeared after the twelfth century, when there were many copies of the work thus dstroyed, and there was no longer any danger of its being lost to posterity. Had the monks been so inclined, nothing could have been easier for them than to destroy in the West the whole literary legacy of Greece and Rome, since they were for several centuries the sole scribes in western Europe. It must not be forgotten either that after the twelfth century, the number of professional lay scribes increased rapidly and the cost of parchment in these days must have proved for the less unscrupulous among them, a strong temptation to resort to erasure on some old manuscript. It is more likely however, that any serious loss sustained by classical lore was due to the wanton destruction of libraries during the great invasions and, later by the Saracens, the Northmen and the so-called Reformers, in the sixteenth century. Far from being guilty of the vandalism of which they have been accused the monks preserved for us what fragments of classical literature had escaped the general devastation of the Roman

1. West, A. F., Alcuin, p. 72.

provinces in the fifth century. The catalogue of many mediaeval libraries which have come down to us, show that the works of classical antiquity found shelter on the shelfs of monastic libraries side by side with the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers.

The Rule of St. Benedict solemnly enjoined upon its followers the necessity of both public and private reading; thus from the very beginning the library came to be a necessary adjunct of every Benedictine foundation. Many of these medieval libraries, no doubt, were small, but there were also not a few large ones, especially if we consider the scarcity and cost of the writing materials, the paucity of men able to do the work, the time and labor involved in the making of a book, the repeated spoliations or destructions by Barbarians or robber barons and the fact that as late as the eighteenth century, a library of a few thousand volumes was not a very common thing. The most famous of these mediaeval libraries were those of Monte Cassino, Novalese and Bobbio in Italy, St. Gall in Switzerland, Reichenau, Sponheim and Fulda in Germany, Tours, St. Riquier, Fleury, Bec and Cluny in France, Bury, Peterborough, Jarrow, York and Canterbury in England. The last mentioned founded in 601 with a few volumes brought to England by St. Augustine and his companions contained no less than 3000 titles at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Libraries

Monastic schools. Although, as remarked before, there is no mention of school instruction of any kind in the Rule of St. Benedict, his monasteries, as a matter of necessity, very early developed schools for the training of novices or young members of the community who intended to take the vows. Nor was it long before externs or outsiders were also admitted into these schools. In the course of time, as will be seen in a following chapter,

interns or *oblati*, and externs were taught in separate buildings. At first the work of the monastic schools was limited to elementary instruction in reading, writing, music, simple reckoning, religious observances, and rules of conduct. Music, on account of its importance in the Church services, received the greatest attention. The language of the school was Latin, which now had ceased to be a living language except in the Church and perhaps in central Italy. Reading was taught by the alphabet method, writing through the wax tablet and stylus. There was much insistence on Latin pronunciation and Latin conversation, in and out of school hours. The texts commonly used for reading and writing were selections from the Vulgate, especially the Psalter. In arithmetic, simple computation was taught. Much time of course was devoted to religious and moral instruction. In addition to the course just described, the larger monasteries at least offered more advanced instruction in what came to be known as the seven liberal arts divided into *trivium* and *quadrivium*. Grammar, rhetoric, and dialetic formed the trivial studies, whilst the quadrivium included arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy. Traces of this nomenclature and division appear in didactic writings, long before the Middle ages. Plato, in his Republic discussed at some length the respective values of the literary or trivial and scientific or quadrivial subjects. The learned Varro in his treatment of the liberal arts or studies included, in addition to the seven above mentioned, philosophy, medicine, and architecture. Quintilian, writing on the same subject, practically omitted arithmetic; St. Augustine wrote a treatise on two of these liberal studies and stated that he intended to write on five more. Far better known in the early Middle ages, however, were the works of Martianus Capella, Boethius, Cassiodorus and St. Isidore of Seville. Martianus Capella, a representative of pagan culture in North Africa in the fifth century, wrote

Elementary school subjects

The seven liberal arts

Capella

an allegorical composition on the seven liberal arts under the title *"De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (*On the Marriage of Philology and Mercury*). Mercury's bride, the learned maiden philology, is attended by the seven bridesmaids, *Ars Grammatica, Ars Rhetorica, Ars Dialectica, Ars Arithmetica, Geometrica, Astronomica, Harmonica,* and in the course of the ceremony, each of these handmaidens gives an exposition of the special branch which she typifies. Capella's treatise was widely used as a textbook in the early middle ages. Boethius (480-524), a Roman statesman and philosopher, sometimes called the last of the Romans, had an even greater influence than Capella, on the mediaeval schools. In addition to theological works, he wrote on arithmetic, geometry and music; he translated Porphyry's *Isagoge* and part of the works of Aristotle; he also wrote commentaries on Cicero's *Topica* besides original treatises on the same subject. It was chiefly through these logical writings of Boethius that the Middle Ages gained their first knowledge of Aristotle's philosophy. The best known of all Boethius' works, however is his *"Consolation of Philosophy,"* which he wrote shortly before his death in the prison where he had been confined by King Theodoric. The treatise is a dialogue between philosophy and Boethius in which the queen of the sciences strives to console the fallen statesman by pointing to him the transitoriness and unreality of earthly greatness. Cassiodorus (490?-583?), a minister to several of the Gothic kings of Italy, then a monk in the monastery which he had founded at Vivarium on his own estate, was probably, much more than St. Benedict, responsible for the literary labors of the monks. He was a most prolific writer. While in office he wrote much on politics, history, and public affairs; after his retirement from the world, his literary activity was turned to the service of his monks. Its most interesting product was his *"Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum"*

Boethius

Cassiodorus

which had for its object, to furnish the monks with the means of interpreting Holy Writ. Cassiodorus of course subordinates, the profane studies to theology but he urges his monks not to undervalue the classical writers; he commends the study of the liberal arts and proclaims the merit of the work of the copyist; much of his wealth he devoted to the collection of manuscripts. St. Isidore of Seville (560-636) sometimes called the last of the ancient Christian philosophers and the last of the great Latin Fathers, like Boethius and Cassiodorus before him, and the Venerable Bede in the following century, labored much to preserve what the past had bequeathed. The most important and best known of all his writings is the *Etymologies* or *Origins* which takes its name from the subject matter of one of its constituent books. The work contains in a systematized and condensed form the knowledge possessed by his time; it is divided into twenty books, the first three of which treat of the trivium and quadrivium; it was very much used as a textbook during the Middle Ages and was still reprinted as late as the close of the fifteenth century.

Isidore

Of the seven liberal arts, grammar was the basic subject and the first one to be taught in the medieval secondary schools. Rabanus Maurus[1] defines it: ". . . . . the science which teaches us to explain the poets and historians; it is the art which qualifies us to write and speak correctly. Grammar is the source and foundation of the liberal arts." Grammar in the medieval sense included, in addition to what we study to-day under that name, much of what we would term rhetoric, such as prosody, versification and figures of speech. The text was in Latin and the method used was the catechetical or by questions and answers; textbooks for the pupils were usually out of the

The trivium

1. See chapter V.

question, they had to commit the text to memory or copy it from the teacher's reading. In the early Middle Ages the books used most extensively in the teaching of grammar were those of Donatus and Priscian. After the eleventh century that of Alexander de Villa Dei (Villedieu) became very popular. When some proficiency had been attained in the study of grammar, exercises in reading were taken up, beginning with easy colloquies, followed by selections from Latin writers. Rhetoric lost part of its content in passing from the Roman into the mediaeval curriculum, but the loss was somewhat made up for by the addition of letter and legal document writing, which in turn led to the introduction of the study of canon and civil law in the mediaeval school.[1] Dialectic or logic is styled by Rabanus, the science of sciences, because it teaches us how to teach others; through it we can distinguish truth from falsehood and reach valid conclusions; and he strongly advises the clergy to study its laws. As stated above the mediaeval knowledge of logic was for several centuries a fragmentary one, gained through the writings of Boethius or his commentators. For a long time too this subject was far less popular among teachers than grammar. The complete text of the logic of Aristotle was not restored to the schools until the twelfth century and by that time logic had superseded grammar in school work.

The quadrivium

The subjects of the quadrivium or science group, though taught at least to some extent in all secondary schools, were much less in demand than the subjects of the trivium, and their content was at first rather meagre. In arithmetic, the old Roman system of notation was in use and this of course precluded any great progress in the subject. The Arabic notation was not extensively known in western Europe until the thirteenth century. The

1. See Chap. VIII, Origin of Universities.

mediaeval knowledge of geometry, at first somewhat scanty, received an important addition through the discovery of Boethius's text on that subject by Gerbert, later, Pope Sylvester II who also improved the methods of calculation in arithmetic. Euclid was not known in its entirety until the twelfth century when it was translated into Latin from the Arabic; mediaeval geometry included geography, based on Ptolemy's works and in connection with geography there was given some instruction in zoology, botany and mineralogy. The instruction in astronomy consisted of the description of the heavens according to the conception of the times; lessons in physics, on the properties of matter and some of the principles of dynamics were also given under the heading of astronomy. Measured by our modern standards, scientific instruction in these early mediaeval schools was rudimentary to be sure; in view of the conditions of the times, however, the wonder is that the monks succeeded in saving even that little from the disaster which had overtaken the Roman world. Of the quadrivial courses the most extensive and favorite one at first, was that in music, which was natural enough in view of the great musical traditions of the Church and the place which music occupies in her ritual. Then too, the early appearance of the organ in the mediaeval churches and the compositions of Christian musicians were calculated to promote interest in the subject. The text used was Boethius's *"De Musica."* As noted before, instruction in music of a less advanced character was given in elementary schools and in special schools, scholae cantorum,—music or song schools, which were quite numerous and usually attached to a cathedral or other important church.

Monastic literary productions. The literary activity of the monks was not all confined to teaching and the transcription of texts; they were also literary producers, in fact practically the sole ones from the sixth to the eleventh

centuries. The monastic literary production during this period includes commentaries on the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers, works on theology and the seven liberal arts, educational treatises, Latin hymns, moral tales and sermons, lives of the Saints, letters and chronicles. The latter, in not a few instances, are our chief source of information concerning the periods with which they deal. Thus, much of the mediaeval history of Italy has been drawn from the chronicles of the monasteries of Bobbio, Monte Cassino, Novalese, and Volturna. Thus the chronicles of Fulda, St. Gall and other monasteries in central and northern Europe have contributed much to our knowledge of the Carlovingian period. The history of the Church of Rheims and the Annales of Flodoard a canon, then a monk, of the tenth century have supplied most of the material for the history of eastern France and western Germay for part of that century; Richer, a monk of St. Remy in the second half of the tenth century, has been pronounced our sole informant on the very important period in the history of France when sovereignty in that country passed from the Carlovingians to the Capetians. The Chronicon Universale of Ekkehard of Aurach is the chief source of information on German history for the period 1080-1125. Most remarkable however among these monastic chronicles is the Ecclesiastical History of the English People by Venerable Bede (673-735). It is the foundation of all our knowledge of British history from the landing of Julius Caesar to the time of the author, and it has received unstinted praise from scholars in every age.

The convents. Monastic communities of women developed very early and they did not lag behind those of men in their devotion to education. "Some of the houses ruled by women, like so many of those ruled by men, became important centers of culture where the industrial arts

were taught, and where books were prized, stored and multiplied. Nuns as well as monks were busy transcribing manuscripts, a task as absorbing as it was laborious, for the difficulties in the way of learning to write can hardly be overestimated, considering the awkwardness of writing materials and the labor involved in fabricating parchment, ink and pigment; but, as the old writer with a play on the words *armarium*, bookcase, and *armatorium*, armory, remarks, 'A monastery without its bookcase is what a castle is without it armory.' And all houses, whether for monks or nuns, take rank as centers of culture in proportion to their wealth in books."[1]

It is noteworthy that the schools conducted by the nuns were as a rule much earlier than the monasteries open for instruction to those not intending to take the vows. In some of these schools, the seven liberal arts were taught but the more common subjects were reading, writing, music, the useful and household arts together with religious instruction and training in manners. Spinning, weaving, and needle work made of course a special appeal to women and these arts were brought to a high degree of perfection by the nuns and their pupils. The beauty of the design and the artistic finish of the workmanship in many church hangings, sacred vestments and altar cloth, manufactured in mediaeval convents have never been surpassed. The copying and illustrating of manuscripts also was one of the favorite occupations in convents; some of the most beautifully copied and illuminated manuscripts of the mediaeval period were the product of the nuns' skill. Many well trained, highly educated women were produced in the convents during the period under consideration; among the most famous were: Gisla, the sister of Charlemagne and Gundrada his cousin, St. Bridget, one of the

1. Eckenstein, J., Women under Monasticism, p. 223.

glories of Ireland, Queen Matilda, the wife of William the Conqueror, St. Hildegarde, the great seeress of the Rhine and the authoress of many remarkable works.

To sum up this brief survey of the monks' contributions to western civilization: they cleared forests, reclaimed swamps, and cultivated vast deserts; they built roads and bridges, they fostered trade and industry and taught Europe anew all the useful and fine arts; they preserved for us the literary treasures of classical antiquity, they founded schools and libraries, they gathered and preserved for us the materials of mediaeval history. No body of men or institution outside the Catholic Church have to their credit such a record of splendid achievements in the cause of civilization. But these achievements, brilliant and far reaching though they were, are only a part of the monastic contribution to western civilization. We have seen in chapter III that the only countries of western Europe which had been Christianized at the beginning of the fifth century were Italy, Spain, Gaul, and parts of the British Isles; even in these countries there were still many districts in which had survived many heathen beliefs and practices. The conversion of these districts as well as that of the rest of Europe was the work chiefly of the monastic communities founded in the sixth and the following centuries. Nor was the apostolate of the monks limited to preaching. Says a modern writer on the subject:

"Moreover the permanency of the individual community in the place of its first location enabled it to build up and expand its work on a most solid foundation, and to impart to it the spirit of its own stability. Again it enabled the newly-made converts to witness the practical character of the Christian system, as well as its flower and fruit as illustrated in the daily lives of the monastic missionaries, a thing in itself productive of boundless inspiration. In this manner the monks not only brought home to the pagans among whom they labored, the fundamental teachings of the Christian Church, not only familiarized them with the ethical system of Jesus Christ, but in their own lives and monastic homes, furnished them with a working model of a Christian community from which to copy, and

on which to build their own society. And when we realize that there were 37,000 Benedictine monasteries alone, we can form some idea of the evangelizing power exercised by the monastic orders during the seven centuries of their undisputed apostolate."[1]

Questions for Discussion

1—Show that monastic industrial education made for social stability and contentment based as it was on Christian principles.
2—Why was not the need felt for a richer elementary school curriculum in the Middle Ages?
3—Contrast the seven liberal arts and present day secondary school course of studies.
4—What were the monastic contributions to artistic book making?
5—What was the medieval conception of European geography?
6—What was the medieval conception of the earth?
7—What was the medieval conception of the heavens?
8—Account fully for the importance attached to music in medieval education.

SOURCES

Bede (Ven.) Ecclesiastical History of the Anglo-Saxons.
Benedict (St.), Rule.
Migne, Patrologia Gr. xxix. Patrologia Lat. xxiii.
See also bibliography appended to articles on Monasticism, St. Benedict, Benedictines, Benedictine Rule in Cath. Encyc.

REFERENCES

Adams, G. B., Civilization during the Middle Ages.
Eckstein, L., Women under Monasticism.
Guizot, F. P., History of Civilization in Europe.
Hallam, H., Introduction to the Literature of Europe.
Healy, J., Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars.
Kingsley, Chas., The Roman and the Teuton.
Maitland, S.R., The Dark Ages.
Montalembert, (Count de), The Monks of the West.
O'Connor, J.B., Monasticism and Civilization.
Putnam, G.H., Books and their Makers.
Shahan, (Rt. Rev.), The Middle Ages.

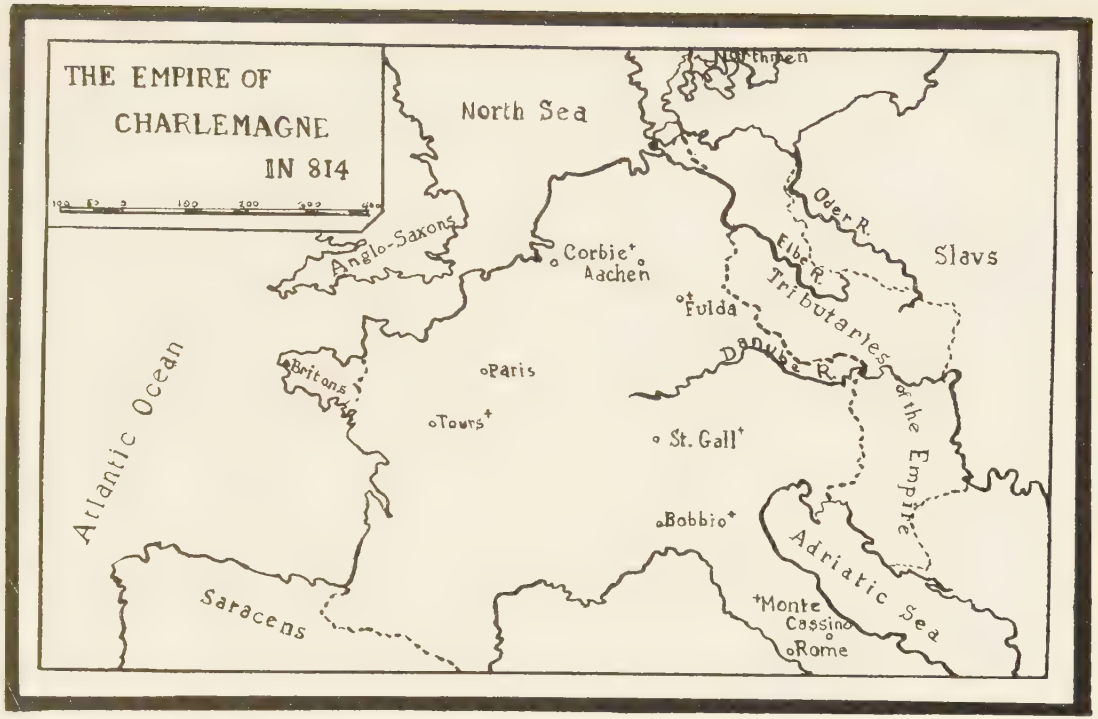
1. O'Connor, J. B., Monasticism and Civilization, p. 181.

CHAPTER V.

THE CARLOVINGIAN REVIVAL.

Charlemagne's Empire.[1] When Charles, surnamed the Great, became sole king of the Franks in 771 his dominions included, in addition to what is now France, Switzerland, Belgium and Holland, the two banks of the Rhine as far east as Saxony and Bavaria. In a series of long, bitter wars he pushed his frontiers east and south until he was the recognized head of the continental Germano-Roman world. The only important Teutonic groups that were not directly under his rule were the Anglo-Saxons of Britain, the Danes and Scandinavians, but even these acknowledged some vague overlordship in the ruler on the continent. Charles had become, in all but name, the successor of Constantine the Great in the West, and when Pope St. Leo III, on Christmas day of the year 800 placed the imperial diadem on the head of the king of the Franks, he gave the official sanction of the Church to what was already an accomplished fact. But he did more. He fulfilled the expectations of the nations, both Teutonic and Roman, who desired the restoration of the Imperial office in the West; he increased immensely the authority of the king over the many nationalities of his kingdom, and he began that intimate relationship between the Church

1. The French form Charlemagne (Carolus Magnus) is employed in conformity with general usage, but it should not convey the impression that Charles was a Frenchman or a king of France. Charles the Great (Karl der Grosse) was a typical Teuton in origin, speech, temperament and appearance.


THE EMPIRE OF
CHARLEMAGNE
IN 814
North Sea
Northmen
Oder R.
Slavs
Elbe R.
Tributaries
of the Empire
Danube R.
Anglo-Saxons
Corbie
Aachen
Fulda
Atlantic Ocean
Britons
Paris
Tours
St. Gall
Bobbio
Adriatic Sea
Saracens
Monte Cassino
Rome

and State which was to ripen later into the Holy Roman Empire.[1]

Lack of homogeneity of the empire

The new Frankish State had one great source of weakness: the diversity of the elements that composed it; diversity in race, language, traditions, customs, and law which were to prove fatal to the Empire under the weak successors of Charles the Great. In the west and south, in what is to-day France, Italy, and northern Spain, the bulk of the population was either almost purely Celtic as in Brittany, or Celto-Roman, while the rulers and large land owners were mostly Teutons. The center, Austrasia, the original Frankland, which contained Charles' capital, Aachen, and included modern Belgium, part of Holland and the two banks of the middle Rhine, was almost as compactly Germanic as it is to-day. North, east and south of Austrasia were other Germanic tribes: the Frisians, Saxons, Allemannians, and Bavarians. Beyond these were tributary nations of Slavic and Turanian origin.[2] Latin, once the language of the western provinces of the Roman Empire, was now a dead language, to be learned in school, practically known by the clergy only, and many of them at that time had but a scanty knowledge of it. In the mouth of the people it was more and more corrupted,—occasionally mixed with Teutonic words, thus giving rise to a number of dialects, the forerunners of present day Romance languages. Likewise in the German provinces of the Empire were used a number of Teutonic dialects. The same diversity prevailed in matters of customs, laws, and even religion. While much of the Roman law and Roman municipal institutions had survived in the cities of the

in race

language

aw

1. "The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" established in 961 when Otto I the Great received the imperial crown from Pope John XII. See ch. VI.

2. See map II.

West,[1] the Barbarians had retained most of their own customs, some of which had been put into written codes,—Salic, Burgundian, Gothic, Lombard. The conversion of the Saxons in the latter part of the eighth century completed the work of christianizing the population of the Frankish state, but in many places Christianity was more nominal than real. Not only was there a great laxity of morals but there had survived, especially in rural districts, many superstitions, to which people clung stubbornly and which the clergy were far too few to combat effectively.

religion

Charlemagne's aim. To bring about a union of the many and diverse elements of his dominions, into one great Christian state was the one aim for which Charles labored incessantly during his long reign of nearly half a century, and for the realization of which he mostly depended upon the Church whose "devoted defender and humble helper" he was wont to call himself.[2]

The aim which Charlemagne sought to achieve

In a thoroughly religious spirit he organized and codified the principles of the Frankish law, taking as his basis and norm the ecclesiastical canons. Popes, bishops and abbots were his confidential advisers; he was wont to submit to them his projects of law, often gave civil authority to the decrees of the ecclesiastical synods and had the bishops sit side by side with the counts in the national assemblies. For administrative purposes he divided the whole territory of his realm into districts, counties and, on the frontiers, into marks, with smaller subdivisions in each county and mark. At the head of each county or mark was a count (graf, markgraf) who was the representative of the king and responsible to him for the maintenance of order, the administration of justice and the levy of troops. Several counties or marks made up a district and to each district

by a system of good laws

by a strong administration

1. This was especially the case in southern Gaul and northern Italy.
2. Preface of his capitularies.

were assigned every year a pair of "missi dominici" or king's commissioners who were to visit their territory several times a year, overseeing the work of the local count, correcting injustice, holding popular assemblies and reporting all to the king. Charles himself, despite the many hardships of travel in those days, was constantly on the move, investigating the administration of his vast dominions, visiting schools, monasteries, churches, seeing for himself how the laws that had been enacted were carried into effect.

by a common culture

This external unity secured through good laws and a strong, well organized administration, was only part of Charles' plan. It was also his ambition to bring about the closer, more intimate unity which results from a community of ideas, a common culture, and a common language. But here the difficulties to be overcome were almost insuperable, for there was practically nothing to start with, no school worthy of the name, no body of teachers. The Frankish monks and clergy, who were to be the instruments of this revival of learning, were—too many of them —in a state of gross ignorance. Charles' first task was then to educate the prospective teachers of his people. It was for this purpose that he brought to Frankland a number of foreign scholars,—among them, Paulus Diaconus, the historian of the Lombards, and the famous Alcuin of York, whom he placed at the head of the School of the Palace, and who was to be in reality, if not in name, his Minister of Education.

The school of the Palace before Alcuin

The revival of learning. There had been a sort of court school under the Merovingian kings.[1] The date of its foundation is uncertain; it may have been established in the late sixth century or in the early seventh, most probably as a result of the missionary work of the Irish monks in

1. The first dynasty of Frankish kings.

Gaul, especially of St. Columbanus.[1] We know that the latter labored more than twenty years in that country and founded in 585 the famous abbey of Luxeuil,[2] from which were to sally forth the reformers of the Frankish clergy and the founders of many abbeys and schools. St. Ouen the friend of St. Eligius[3] is mentioned as teaching in the seventh century in the Palatine school, which in those days seems to have been a sort of aristocratic institution, preparing the scions of the leading families of the kingdom for service in Church or State, according to their vocations. The most famous of its pupils before the reign of Charlemagne were St. Chrodegang and S. Benedict of Aniane. The first became prime minister to Charles Martel,[4] Archbishop of Maintz and was selected by Charlemagne's father, King Pepin the Short, to go to Rome and accompany Pope Stephen II to Frankland; St. Benedict of Aniane, after serving for some time in the army, entered into the religious life and founded at Aniane in southern France, a monastery which became the model and center of monastic reform in Frankland under Louis the Pious. It was also in the Palatine school that Charles the Great received his early education, which he took so much pains to complete later in the same institution under the directions of Alcuin.

under Alcuin's incumbency

It was in the year 782 that the latter made good his promise to Charles the year before at Parma, to become instructor at the school of the Palace. Under his direction and with the help of the teachers that he had brought with him, the school was reorganized much after the fashion of the school of York, where the course of studies embraced, as Alcuin himself tells us: "The liberal studies, and the

1. See ch. III and IV.
2. Ibid.
3. A goldsmith and treasurer of the Merovingians, Clotaire II and Dagobert I; became Bishop of Noyon (588-659).
4. Charlemagne's grandfather, defeated the Saracens at Tours.

Holy Word," or the seven liberal arts comprising the trivium and quadrivium with the study of the Scriptures and the Fathers for those more advanced. The school had its seat in Aachen, Charles' capital, but it was sometimes removed to some other place for a brief interval, when the king requested that the school should accompany him in one of his journeys or expeditions. Amongst those who gathered around him Alcuin saw Charles himself and his queen Liutgard; Gisla Abbess of Chelles, one of the king's sisters; his sons, Charles, Pepin, and Louis who was to succeed his father as emperor; two of his daughters, Rotrud and Gisela; his son-in-law Angilbert; his cousins Adelhard and Wala with their sister Gundrada; Charles's biographer Einhard; Riculf who became the Archbishop of Maintz; Arno, Alcuin's friend, later Archbishop of Salzburg; Theodulf who became Bishop of Orléans.

Master and pupils assumed fanciful pseudonyms borrowed from the Scriptures or from the classics. Thus Alcuin modified his own name into Albinus to which he added the name Flaccus; Charles was sometimes called David, sometimes Solomon; his son Pepin was Julius; Angilbert, Homer; Gisela, Delia; Theodulf, Pindar.

The subjects taught at the Palace school were in the main the seven liberal arts and the method of instruction was the catechetical, or by question and answer. As they appear to us in the writings of Alcuin, matter and form may at times seem quite rudimentary, even childish, but we must not forget that, so far at least as learning was concerned, many of Alcuin's students were still intellectual children.

The following extract from a dialogue written by Alcuin for Pepin, one of the king's sons, may not be without interest as an illustration of Alcuin's method of teaching.

"Pepin. What is writing?
Albinus. The guardian of history.

Illustrating Alcuin's method of teaching

Pepin. What is language?
Albinus. The betrayer of the soul.
Pepin. What generates language?
Albinus. The tongue.
Pepin. What is the tongue?
Albinus. The whip of the air.
Pepin. What is air?
Albinus. The guardian of life.
Pepin. What is life?
Albinus. The joy of the happy; the expectation of death.
Pepin. What is death?
Albinus. An inevitable event; an uncertain journey; tears for the living; the probation of wills; the stealer of men.
Pepin. What is man?
Albinus. The slave of death; a passing traveler; a stranger in his place.

— — — — — — — — — — — —

Pepin. What is water?
Albinus. A supporter of life; a cleanser of filth.
Pepin. What is fire?
Albinus. Excessive heat; the nurse of growing things; the ripener of crops.
Pepin. What is cold?
Albinus. The febricity of our members.
Pepin. What is frost?
Albinus. The persecutor of plants; the destruction of leaves; the bond of the earth; the source of waters.
Pepin. What is snow?
Albinus Dry water.
Pepin. What is winter?
Albinus. The exile of summer.
Pepin What is spring?
Albinus. The painter of the earth.
Pepin. What is autumn?
Albinus. The barn of the year.

Charlemagne's achievements as a scholar

Foremost in eagerness and proficiency amongst Alcuin's pupils was the king himself and this in spite of the heavy demands made upon his time and energy by his military expeditions and the government of his vast dominions. His strong, keen intellect had a thirst for knowledge which the master, it appears, could not always easily satisfy. He was constantly plying Alcuin with questions even when away from the school on some distant military expedition. Grammar, including poetry, arithmetic, the writings of the

Interior of the Cloister, Aix-la-Chapelle.

Fathers, theology proper, and especially astronomy were his favorite studies during Alcuin's incumbency at court. From the Irish monks who succeeded Alcuin in the school of the Palace he seems to have taken a strong liking for dialectics. He also took a keen and intelligent interest in the correction of manuscripts and in their multiplication, in music, the value of which in church services he fully realized, and which he did much to improve in the churches and monasteries of the Empire.

It has been asserted that he could not write, but this is hardly credible, although it is likely that his fingers, somewhat stiffened by the wielding of his heavy sword, could not trace the letters with all the dexterity and nimbleness of one who had been accustomed to the use of the pen from childhood. In addition to his native German he could speak Latin fluently; he understood Greek when spoken, and he mastered much of the knowledge of his time, but, what was far more important than all these scholarly achievements, he set a high example of devotion to learning before the nobility and the clergy of the Empire.

The reorganization of the Palace school, important as it was in itself, was only a small part of Charles' plans. His ambition was to bring about an educational reform of the whole realm. But learning could be diffused, ignorance and its evil consequences could be removed, only if there were many centers of instruction in every part of the kingdom, if there were a great body of zealous and well trained teachers, and the only body of men to whom he could appeal in this pressing need was the clergy. Thus it was that in 787 at the suggestion of Alcuin, his trusted adviser in matters of education, he issued the famous capitulary which has been styled by some: "The Charter of Modern Thought." The capitulary was addressed to all the bishops and abbots of Frankland and on account of its importance it deserves to be quoted here in full:

Educational reform in the provinces

"Charles, by the grace of God, King of the Franks and of the Lombards, and Patrician of the Romans, to Baugulf Abbot and to his whole congregation and the faithful committed to his charge—

Be it known to your devotion, pleasing to God, that in conjunction with our faithful we have judged it to be of utility that in the bishoprics and monasteries committed to your charge by Christ's favor, care should be taken that there shall be not only a regular manner of life and one conformable to holy religion, but also the study of letters, each to teach and learn them according to his ability and the divine assistance. For even as due observance of the rule of the house tends to good morals, so zeal on the part of the teacher and the taught imparts order and grace to sentences; and those who seek to please God by living aright should also not neglect to please Him by right speaking. It is written: 'by thine own words shalt thou be justified or condemned;' and although right doing be preferable to right speaking, yet must the knowledge of what is right precede right action. Every one therefore should strive to understand what it is that he would fain accomplish; and this right understanding will be the sooner gained according as the utterances of the tongue are free from error. And if false speaking is to be shunned by all men, especially should it be shunned by those who have elected to be the servants of the truth. During the past years we have often received letters from different monasteries informing us that at their sacred services the brethren offered up prayers on our behalf and we have observed that the thoughts contained in these letters, though in themselves most just, were expressed in uncouth language, and while pious devotion dictated the sentiments, the unlettered tongue was unable to express them aright. Hence there has arisen in our mind the fear lest, if the skill to write rightly were thus lacking, so too would the power of rightly comprehending the Sacred Scriptures be far less than was fitting, and we all know that though verbal errors be dangerous, errors of the understanding be yet more so. We exhort you therefore not only not to neglect the study of letters, but to apply yourselves thereto with perseverance and that humility which is well pleasing to God; so that you may be able to penetrate with greater ease and certainty the mysteries of the Holy Scriptures. For as these contain images, tropes and similar figures, it is impossible to doubt that the reader will arrive far more readily at the spiritual sense according as he is better instructed in learning. Let then be chosen for this work men who are able and willing to learn and also desirous of instructing others; and let them apply themselves to the work with a zeal equalling the earnestness with which we recommend it to them.

The capitulary of 787

It is our wish that you may be what it behooves the soldiers of Christ to be,—religious in heart, learned in discourse, pure in act, eloquent in speech, so that all who approach your home in order to invoke the Divine Master or to behold the excellence of the religious life, may be edified in beholding you and instructed in hearing your discourse or chant and may return home rendering thanks to God, Most High.

Fail not, as thou regardest our favor, to send a copy of this letter to all thy suffragans ,and to all the monasteries and let no monk go beyond his monastery to administer justice or to enter the assemblies and voting places. Adieu."[1]

This capitulary was followed in 789 by others dealing in greater detail with the preparation of monks and clerics, the establishment of schools for boys, the subjects to be studied, and the books to be used. We read in one of these: "Let every abbey, and monastery have a school in which boys may be taught the Psalms, the system of musical notation, singing, arithmetic, and grammar and let the books which are given them be free from errors and let care be taken that they do not spoil them either when reading or when writing."[2]

Other capitularies

The general character of the phraseology used makes it evident that by boys are meant here not only the candidates for the monastery and the wards committed to the care of the monks, but also children from the district surrounding the monastery. But if there was any doubt on this point it would be removed by the capitulary of 802 which enjoined that: "Every one should send his son to study letters and that the child should remain at school with all diligence until he should become well instructed in learning."[3] Charles' inspectors, the "missi dominici" were empowered to visit the monasteries and see to it that the provisions of the royal edicts were carried out. But the king also requested bishops and abbots to send him at stated intervals detailed reports of their administration. Typical of these is one sent by Leydrade, Archbishop of Lyons, in which he enumerates all he has been able to accomplish for the churches and schools confided to his care, going into details that may seem trivial to the reader

1. Migne, Pat. Lat. xcviii, 859. Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Legum ii, Capit. i, 79.
2. Migne, Pat. Lat. xcvii, 517.
3. Mon. Ger. Hist., Legum ii, Cap. i, 235.

but show none the less how exacting was the king in everything that pertained to education. The efforts of Charles met with a hearty coöperation from bishops and abbots, especially in the more important dioceses and monasteries. The old monastic and cathedral schools were reorganized and many new ones were founded. It is from that time that dates the fame of many an important center of learning in the Middle Ages: Fulda, Reichenau, Metz, Liège, Orléans, Tours among many others. At the same time bishops and clergy were doing their utmost to promote elementary education. There is no more beautiful expression of this zeal and devotion than the famous decree of bishop Theodulf of Orléans, in which he ruled that all the priests of his diocese were to keep school in their parishes: "Let the priests keep school in the villages and towns, and if any of the faith shall wish to give his little ones to learning, they ought willingly to accept them and teach them gratuitously remembering what has been written: 'They that are learned shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that instruct many to justice, as stars for all eternity.' And let them exact no price from the children for the teaching, nor receive anything from them save what the parents may offer voluntarily and from affection."[1]

Coöperation from bishops and abbots

The revival was continued under Charles' successor, Louis the Pious, who, whatever his shortcomings in other respects, shared his father's keen interest in learning. At the suggestion of St. Benedict of Aniane whom he had appointed chief of the abbots of the Empire, Louis summoned the Council of Aachen (817) in which were enacted a number of important decrees concerning the discipline of the clergy and monasteries as well as the monastic and cathedral schools. As a consequence of this legislation

The revival under Louis the Pious

1. Migne, Pat. Lat., cv, 196.

there was made a differentiation within the monastic and cathedral schools: they were now divided into inner schools for the interns, "the oblati" i.e. prospective members of the clergy or monastery, and outer schools for the externs or laity. Such schools became quite common in all parts of the Empire during the ninth century and many bishops following the example of Theodulf of Orléans requested their clergy to open elementary schools in their parishes.

To sum up: By the beginning of the ninth century, through the efforts of Charles the Great, of Alcuin and of their assistants, schools had been reorganized and founded in the Carlovingian Empire. At the head of these institutions stood the Palace school, the center of culture in the realm. Below this were the monastic, cathedral and parish schools. The parish schools were purely elementary in character, their work consisting in the teaching of the rudiments of the three R's, together with religious instruction. Monastic and cathedral schools were either elementary or secondary or both, and in many places these schools included an inner department for the "oblati," and an outer department for the laity. The course of studies in the secondary schools included all or part of the seven liberal arts. The head of the cathedral school was the scholasticus appointed by, and responsible to the bishop. The abbot was the head of the monastic school, but he too, often delegated his authority to some other official.

Results of the revival

Eminent educators. This brief account of the Carlovingian revival would not be complete without at least a few words on its most eminent educators and scholars. The first in chronological order was Alcuin, Albinus Flaccus, whose work as head of the Palace school and educational advisor to Charles the Great has already been related. Alcuin had received his education at the school of York with which he was connected from childhood and

of which he was the scholasticus when called to Frankland. In his poem on the *Saints of the Church of York* he gives a description of the courses pursued at that school in his time, which he sums up, as stated before, in the words *liberal arts and the Holy Word,* i.e. the seven liberal arts and the Holy Scriptures. In the same poem he pays a glowing tribute to the library of the school, of which he was custodian for some time. It was in 796 that Charles at last yielded to Alcuin's oft-repeated request to be relieved of his heavy duties as master of the Palace school; as a mark of his appreciation and gratitude for the eminent services of his old teacher, the monarch appointed him abbot of the monastery of St. Martin of Tours, one of the oldest and richest in all Frankland. It owned many landed estates, scattered in various parts of the kingdom, tilled by thousands of serfs and yielding great revenue towards its support. Under Alcuin's rule the abbey became a great center of monastic life and learning in the West. In a letter written to Charles shortly after his installation, he outlines in his wonted allegorical style the work he was trying to accomplish:

Alcuin at Tours

> "I, your Flaccus, following out your exhortation and desire, strive to minister to some in the house of St. Martin, the honeys of Holy Scripture. Others, I endeavor to inebriate with the old wine of the ancient discipline and still others will I begin to nourish with the apples of grammatical subtlety. Again I endeavor to irradiate the minds of others with the order of the stars, even as a painter would illuminate by his figures the dome of a church, being made all things to all men, so that I may instruct many for the advantage of the Holy Church of God, and for the honor of your kingdom, that the grace of Almighty God may not be found vain in me, nor the generosity of your kindness of none effect."[1]

Young men desirous of learning came in large numbers to the school at Tours and spread its influence throughout the Empire. Alcuin also did much to build up a library. He sent young monks to York as copyists, in order to

1. Alcuin's Letters.

obtain the books he lacked and even took upon himself the task of supervising in all its details the copying of manuscripts, in the scriptorium of the monastery. Alcuin's writings, in addition to his correspondence, poems, and theological works include the following treatises: *On Grammar, On Orthography, On Rhetoric and the Virtues, On Dialectics, A Disputation with Pepin, A Treatise on Astronomy,* and three others of somewhat doubtful origin, *On the Seven Arts, A Disputation for Boys,* and the so-called, *Propositions of Alcuin.*

His works

Alcuin is rarely original; most of what he writes comes from the Scriptures, the Latin Fathers, St. Isidore of Seville, Venerable Bede, and Cassiodorus with occasional references to Boethius. Martianus is never mentioned, and he knew the Greek Fathers only through the Latin translations. His great merit lies in the fact that he was the instrument of the Carlovingian revival and kept unbroken on the continent the traditions of learning.

Rabanus Maurus. Rabanus was a native of Maintz and a monk of Fulda, the great monastery founded in central Germany by St. Boniface in the eighth century. In 802 he was sent by his abbot, Ratgar, to Tours unto Master Alcuin for the sake of learning the liberal arts. He so endeared himself to the old master that the latter bestowed upon him the surname of Maurus, after St. Maurus the beloved spiritual son of St. Benedict. Although he remained only a year at Tours he never forgot his student days on the banks of the Loire. In the preface of his "Universe," written many years afterwards, he recalls with delight the happy days spent at Tours "in the study of letters and in the meditation of the Scriptures." Upon his return to Fulda, he was appointed head of the abbey school and in that position he remained, with a brief interval, until 802, when he was elected abbot. Under his rule,

Rabanus Maurus and the abbey of Fulda

Fulda came to occupy in the field of learning the position which had been that of Tours in the preceding generation. The number of students, both in the mother house and in its affiliated schools was very great and the library was one of the best supplied in the West. Rabanus died in 850 as Archbishop of Maintz. He was a voluminous writer on the Scriptures and on theological matters, but in addition, he composed the following treatises, which have some bearing on education: *On the Instruction of the Clergy, On Reckoning, An Excerpt on the Grammatical Art of Priscian, On the Universe,* a short *Latin Tudesque Glossary,* and *On the Origin of Language.* Of these, by far the most remarkable is the treatise *"On the Instruction of the Clergy."* It deals with the organization of the Church, her feast and fast days, her ritual, her orders of clergy, ecclesiastical duties, and in addition, as Rabanus says: "teaches how all that is written in the Sacred Books is to be searched and studied, as well as those things in the arts and studies of the heathen which are useful for an ecclesiastic to inquire into."[1] As to the purpose of teaching and studying he states it as follows: "All the useful knowledge that lies in the books of the heathen, and the salutary truths of the Scriptures as well are to be used for one purpose and referred to one end,—that is,—the perfect knowledge of truth and the highest excellence of wisdom."[2]

Rabanus a prolific writer

In his treatment of the seven liberal arts he shows far greater independence than Alcuin. Grammar, he defines as "the science of interpreting the poets and historians and the art of correct writing and speaking. It is the foundation of the seven liberal arts."[3] Alcuin had limited the scope of grammar to the narrow formal study of languages.

a more independent writer than Alcuin

1. Rabanus Maurus, "De Institutione Clericorum."
2. Rabanus Maurus, Ibid.
3. Ibid.

Even more striking is the contrast between Alcuin's timid conception of dialectics and that of his bolder pupil. "Dialectics," says Rabanus, "is the rational discipline concerned with definitions and explanation, and able even to separate truth from falsehood."[1] And he advises the clergy "to know this most noble art and to have its laws constantly before them in meditation, that they may be able to penetrate with subtlety into the craftiness of the heretics and confute their opinions by the magical conclusions of syllogisms."[2] His book *"On the Universe,"* is a sort of encyclopedia of the knowledge possessed by his time much after the fashion of the *"Etymologies,"* of Isidore of Seville on whose work he draws freely in the composition of his own.

Pupils of Rabanus'

A more vigorous mind than Alcuin and far more independent in his views, Rabanus had an even greater influence than his master. He has been styled "Primus Praeceptor Germaniae," and one of his biographers tells us that "wherever, in peace or war, in Church or in State, a prominent actor appears, we may almost predict beforehand that he will prove to have been a scholar of this great master."[3] Among those that were his pupils or otherwise came under his influence, should be mentioned the following: Lupus Servatus, who, as abbot of Ferrières in Central France, gathered around him many pupils and a large library. He was mostly interested in the study and teaching of the classics, a taste for which he seems to have developed in the company of Einhard, who had become the abbot of Seligenstadt and whom he visited frequently during his student days at Fulda;—Walafried Strabo, who was elected abbot of Reichenau on the lake of Constance, and became famous as a teacher and as a poet;—Rudolphus,

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Spengler, Leben des heiligen Rabanus Maurus, iv.

who was the continuator of the annals of Fulda begun by Einhard, and the biographer of Rabanus whom he succeeded at the head of the school of Fulda;—Paschasius Ratpert, who became the abbot of old Corbie near Amiens;—Luitpert, the abbot of new Corbie in Saxony;—Haymo, a fellow pupil of Rabanus at Fulda, later bishop of Halberstadt;—Werembert and Notker of St. Gall;—Eric of Auxerre, who for many years was in charge of the school of St. Germain in that place and numbered among his students the famous Remy of Auxerre and Hucbald of St. Amand, both of whom were summoned to Reims by Archbishop Fulco to reorganize the schools of the diocese which had fallen into decay. Remy went later to Paris where he founded a school in which he taught the liberal arts, philosophy, theology and which has been called by some "The first craddle of the university of Paris." The greatest pupil of Remy at Paris was Odo, later abbot of Cluny, which was to become the center of another great revival in the West.[1]

The work of the Irish monks

The greatest of the ninth century scholars was not, however, a pupil either of Alcuin or Rabanus or of any of their successors. Reference has already been made to the influence of the Irish monks in Frankland, the labors of St. Columbanus, the foundation of the three monasteries of Luxeuil, St. Gall and Bobbio in which were perpetuated on the continent the traditions of Irish monastic life. Other Irish monks were welcomed at the court of Charles the Great, who seems to have been a great admirer of their astronomical knowledge and dialectic ability. Little encouraged at court during the reign of Louis the Pious, they regained their influence under the reign of Charles the Bald,[2] who placed at the head of the Palace School the

1. See ch. IV.
2. The grandson of Charlemagne.

famous John Scotus Erigena (Eriugena), or John the Scot (815-?) concerning whose life very little is known beyond the fact that he was for some time connected with the Palace School and was involved in some of the religious controversies of his time. In learning, breadth of mind, power of speculation and boldness of judgment, Scotus was far superior to his own times,—so much so indeed, that he must be considered as a representative of another age and for that reason will be dealt with, more in detail, in the chapter on Scholasticism. John the Scot

Thus in an unbroken chain we reach the tenth century which may be taken as the limit of the influence of Alcuin and Rabanus. The center of influence which had passed from Tours to Fulda, from West to East Frankland, has now returned to the former, and this at the time when it was asserting its own political independence, under its own national leaders, and will have to be spoken of henceforth as France instead of Gaul or West Frankland as in the nine preceding centuries.

The Revival of Learning in England

During the reign of King Alfred the Great (871-901), there was in England a revival of learning, comparable in some respects to that which had taken place on the continent two generations before. Alfred has left a remarkable picture of the condition of education in his kingdom at the time of his accession. Due to the ravages of the Danes, English learning had greatly decayed since the days of Alcuin. The country which had once supplied Frankland with scholars was now compelled to get its teachers from abroad. Alfred brought learned monks from the continent in order to improve the condition of the monastic schools of his realm. Himself a man of learning and culture, he encouraged study at the court and urged the nobility to reading by his own example. Asser, a

familiar friend of Alfred and his biographer, has left an interesting account of the training of the king's youngest son. It may be taken as an index of English higher education at the time:

"Ethelwerd, the youngest (of Alfred's children), by the divine counsels and the admirable prudence of the King, was consigned to the schools of learning where, with the children of almost all the nobility of the country, and many also who were not noble, he prospered under the diligent care of his teachers. Books in both languages, namely Latin and Saxon, were read in the school. They also learned to write so that before they were of an age to practice manly arts, namely hunting and such pursuits as befit noblemen, they became studious and clever in the liberal arts. Edward and Ethelswitha were bred up in the king's court and received great attention from their attendants and nurses; nay, they continue to this day, with the love of all about them and showing affability and even gentleness towards all, both natives and foreigners, and in complete subjection to their father; nor, among their other studies which appertain to this life and are fit for noble youths, are they suffered to pass their time idly and unprofitably without learning the liberal arts; for they have carefully learnt the Psalms and Saxon books, especially the Saxon poems, and are continually in the habit of making use of books."[1]

Questions for Discussion

1—Contrast the condition of learning on the continent and the British Isles in the eighth century. Account for differences if any.

2—What was the knowledge of Greek in the West in the eighth century?

3—Why did not Charlemagne's efforts toward a revival lead to permanent results?

4— Explain why Latin became the language of the Church and the schools in the Middle Ages.

5—Is there any connection between Charlemagne's Palace school and the University of Paris? Explain fully.

SOURCES

Asser, Life of Alfred the Great.
Einhard, Life of Charlemagne.
Migne, Patrologia Latina.
Monumenta Germaniae Historica.

REFERENCES

Leach, A. F., The schools of mediaeval England.
Mullinger, J. B., The Schools of Charles the Great.
Spengler, A., Leben des heiligen Rhabanus Maurus.
West, A. F., Alcuin and the rise of Christian Schools.

1. Asser, Life of Alfred the Great, tr. by J. A. Giles, p. 68.

CHAPTER VI

FORCES AT WORK TOWARDS A GREATER REVIVAL

Mohammedan influence in the West. It will be recalled that in Chapter III, a brief mention was made of Mohammedanism and its influence on western civilization; we must now return to this subject for a lengthier consideration. When the Arabs left their peninsula at the beginning of the seventh century, they were still a semi-barbaric people, but in their contact with the more highly cultured people whom they conquered,—Persians, hellenized Egyptians and Syrians,—they soon developed a brilliant civilization. All the capitals of the caliphates into which their huge empire was broken up, Bagdad, Bassora, Samarcand, Damascus, Cairo, Fez, Cordova, Granada, became so many intellectual and artistic centers. Through the eastern Christian schools, especially that of Nisibis, they became acquainted with the works of Aristotle. Alkendi, who is considered the father of philosophy among the Arabs, taught Aristotelian philosophy in the school of Bagdad during the ninth century; Alfarabi who taught in the school in the following century, wrote a number of commentaries on the same subject. The most famous Arabian philosophers were Avicenna (980-1037) in the East and Averroes (1126-1198) in the West, both great commentators of Aristotle. More original and noteworthy were the Arabs' contributions in the fields of science and its practical applications. They measured a degree of the earth's surface on the shores of the Red Sea.

Mohammedans in contact with the hellenized East

Mohammedan contributions to philosophy and science

they corrected Ptolemy's astronomical table, determined more exactly the obliquity of the ecliptic and the precession of the equinoxes; they invented new instruments of precision. Long before Europe, Samarcand had an admirable observatory. It is erroneously however that they have been credited with the invention of algebra, trigonometry and the so-called Arabic notation; in this as in philosophy they merely transmitted to Europe what they had found in the East among the Greeks and Hindus. To them Europe is also indebted for the use of linen and cotton paper and perhaps for the mariner's compass and gunpowder, which they had received from the Chinese. In physics, chemistry, and especially in medicine and surgery the Arabs also made remarkable progress. They had an European wide reputation as physicians. Several of their leading philosophers like Avicenna and Averroes were also noteworthy commentators of Galen.[1] They taught the West the art of distillation, the use of alcohol, rhubarb, mercury, syrups, camphor, and several other medicinal plants. In history, due perhaps to a lack of the critical sense, the work of the Arabs did not go beyond the writing of annals, but they made important contributions to the science of geography.

the fine arts

Of the fine arts they only cultivated architecture, the Koran prohibiting the making of the human likeness in sculpture or painting. As a substitute for painted or sculptured figures, they used arabesques which originally were inscriptions with a meaning; later on the sense disappeared and the arabesques became mere combinations of lines producing these fanciful designs so common in oriental manufactured products. Aside from these peculiar ornaments Arabian architecture lacked originality; its constituent elements were borrowed from the Byzantine style, but it was remarkable for its lavish use of basins, fountains, lamps,

1. See Chapter IX, "Nature of University Instruction."

Moorish Architecture. (Patio de las Doncellas. South side. Alcazar, Seville.)

gold and precious stones. Among the most famous products of this type of architecture, were the mosque of Cordova and the Alhambra palace at Granada.

agriculture trade and the crafts

Like all Orientals the Arabs are born merchants. When their empire extended from the Indus to the Pyrenees, they were the first merchants of the world. They also became skillful farmers and artisans. The system of irrigation which they introduced in the plains of Valencia, made that district the garden of Spain. From the Arabs, Europe received many of its vegetables, useful plants and orchard fruits: the mulberry tree, cotton, rice, the sugar cane, asparagus, artichoke, apricot, peach, etc. The fame of their manufactured products spread all over Europe; the morocco, leather, silk goods of Granada, arms of Toledo, Cordova leather and harnesses, Cuenca cloth, were in demand on every market. In population, material splendor and sanitary conditions, the Moslem cities were much in advance even of the capitals of Christian Europe; their streets were paved and lighted at night; they had magnificent aqueducts, market-places, mosques, palaces, and public baths.

Mohammedan culture in the East

In the eighth and the ninth centuries the seat of Mohammedan civilization was in the East; Damascus, then Bagdad, the new city built by the Arabs on the Tigris near the ancient Seleucia, were its chief centers. Immense sums of money had been spent by the caliph, Abou Giaphar (754-775), for the embellishment of the new city which could vie in magnificence with Constantinople itself. The caliph, Haroum al Raschid (786-809), and his son Al Mamoun (813-833) made it an intellectual center of the first importance. Learned Greeks and Jews were invited to teach in the university which had been founded; schools were opened in connection with the mosques, an observatory was built and a magnificent library organized; dictionaries, cyclopedias and pharmacopoeias were composed. With the decline of the Bagdad caliphate this intellectual supremacy

in the West

passed to Spain. Already in the tenth century the Moslem schools in that country had attained some repute. We noted before that the monk Gerbert, later Pope Sylvester II, went to study there. Draper gives an interesting description of these schools in the following passage:

"The caliphs of the West carried out the precepts of Ali, the fourth successor of Mohammed, in the patronage of literature. They established libraries in all their chief towns; it is said that not fewer than seven were in existence. To every mosque was attached a public school, in which the children of the poor were taught to read and write, and instructed in the precepts of the Koran. For those in easier circumstances there were academies, usually arranged in twenty-five or thirty apartments, each calculated for accommodating four students; the academy being presided over by a rector. In Cordova, Granada, and other great cities, there were universities, frequently under the superintendence of Jews; the Mohammedan maxim being that the real learning of a man is of more public importance than any particular religious opinions he may entertain. In this they followed the example of the Asiatic caliph, Haroum al Raschid, who actually conferred the superintendence of his schools on John Masué, a Nestorian Christian. The Mohammedan liberality was in striking contrast with the intolerance of Europe. Indeed, it may be doubted whether at this time any European nation is sufficiently advanced to follow such an example. In the universities, some of the professors of polite literature gave lectures on Arabic classical works; others taught rhetoric or composition, or mathematics or astronomy. From these institutions many of the practices in our colleges were derived. They held Commencements, at which poems were read and orations delivered in the presence of the public. They had also in addition to these schools of general learning, professional ones, particularly for medicine."[1]

The passage just quoted refers to the Moslem schools in Spain at the time of their golden age in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. By that time their influence was beginning to be felt in the Christian schools through the translation into Latin of some of the works used in the Spanish schools. The work of translating begun in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by Constantine the African, Adelard of Bath and Herman the Dalmatian, was systematized between the years 1130 and 1150 by Raymond, Bishop of

1. Draper, J.W., History of the Intellectual Development of Europe, Vol. II, p. 36.

Toledo, who founded a college of translators. The route to the Latin version in these early translations was a roundabout one and, as a consequence, the texts used in the Christian schools were not very accurate, but in the course of the thirteenth century translations were made directly from the Greek text recovered after the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204.

Mohammedan influence on Christian schools

The Mohammedan influence on western Europe was undoubtedly very great. It was the Arabs of Spain who gave the first impulse to the study of the physical and metaphysical works of Aristotle and they also contributed largely to the growth and development in mediaeval Europe of the study of medicine, geography, astronomy, mathematics, physics and chemistry. It must be borne in mind however that the Arabs share the honors of this influence with the Jews who had become their firm collaborators, not only in trade and industry but in the sciences and philosophy as well.

Origin

Feudalism. The breaking up, in the ninth century, of the mighty empire which the strong hand of Charlemagne had held together, ushered in everywhere a long period of political anarchy. Authority broke down as it had never before; dukes and counts were in constant warfare against each other or against the king. Northmen in the north, Hungarians in the east and Saracens in the south could now ravage with impunity the lands which king and aristocracy were incapable of defending. Amidst this general anarchy, the population, no longer protected by the central government or its representatives, were forced into a great number of small defensive groups. The small landowners and freemen lacking land in any district would appeal for protection (recommend themselves) to some warrior, and this warrior in turn would depend for protection on some other lord or overlord. The strongest and bravest among those who thus recommended themselves became the military retinue,

the companions at arms of the leader and with him were entrusted with the defense and protection of the community; the others tilled the land, tended the cattle, spun, wove, did all the work that was necessary for their own and their master's sustenance. This political and social system, known in history as feudalism, was definitely organized from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, but it had begun to develop long before that time. The Gallo-Roman society of the fifth century already possessed the essential characteristics of feudalism, which are the absence of the small freeholder estate and the fusion of public power with land-ownership. The man who recommended himself to another became the latter's vassal. He solemnly promised to be the man, the faithful follower of his protector or suzerain, very much in the same way as the German warriors promised to be bound to their chosen leader. The vassal owed fidelity and support to his suzerain; he was in duty bound to defend his person, his honor and his property against all and every attack: to help defray his lord's expenses, to go into captivity in his place as a hostage; he was under the obligation of military service for a certain number of days when summoned by his suzerain and he must assist him in his capacity of judge. The lord also claimed in some cases some special rights, such as that of administering the estate of a minor and marrying a female heir to his own nominee. If the vassal fulfilled all his obligations he was practically sole master in his own land or fief. He could feudalize part or all of it as he saw fit and have vassals of his own. The suzerain could not arbitrarily take away the fief once donated to a vassal, and he was bound to protect him and otherwise deal with him in all impartiality and fairness. The vassal had the right to be tried before his own peers and he could appeal from his lord's verdict to the higher court of an overlord or to the sword. Lords with their families and retinue lived in

Suzerain versus vassal

Mediæval Castle—Eltz Burg, Germany.

ST ALBAN'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

strong castles, regular fortresses where in cases of danger the whole tenantry could find shelter and protection. The chief occupation of a noble was fighting either in his own or in his overlord's quarrel. In preparation for this warfare much of his time was occupied in martial exercises culminating in mimic encounters called tournaments, in which mounted knights charged upon one another with spear and lance. Other diversions of the nobility were hunting, hawking and chess; now and then the monotony of castle life was broken by the visit of a pilgrim returning from some distant land, or that of a wandering bard who came to sing the mighty deeds of Charlemagne's paladins or the wonderful adventures of the Knights of the Round Table.

Castle life

Below this feudal class of fighters and rulers were the toilers, chiefly peasants divided into freemen, serfs, and those who were subject to mortmain. The condition of the serfs, hard though it may have been, was immensely better than that of the slave in pagan society. He could have a family of his own; he was looked upon as a man descending like his lord from the common father of mankind and like him made to the image of God; he could enter the Church and reach a station far beyond that of his lord. Those who were subject to mortmain were not, like the serfs, attached to the soil; they could move from place to place and they were entitled to part at least of their earnings but they could not marry without the consent of their lord, who was also their sole heir. The freeman or villein owed to his lord every year certain contributions in kind and part of his time, but he could transmit his property to his family. The most glaring defect of the feudal system, because of the misery it entailed for the masses, was the right of private warfare which it recognized to every baron. In order to mitigate an evil which she was powerless to eradicate the Church established the Truce of God which commanded the cessation of hostilities on certain days every

The peasants

week and during certain periods of the ecclesiastical year; moreover clerics, women, tillers of the soil were at all times to be treated as neutral and the belligerents were also to respect churches, monasteries, farms, cattle and farm implements. With all its shortcomings and deficiencies, the feudal system was well adapted to the condition of the times: it saved Europe from complete anarchy, it prepared the way for a better social order, and through chivalry it provided a salutory if rude education for the warlike mediaeval nobility.

Chivalry and its education. Chivalry had its origin in an old German rite described by Tacitus, in which the young man publicly received his framea and buckler and thus became a soldier and a citizen. It may be defined as "the Christian form of the military profession." When the Church undertook the education of the Christian soldier, she took hold of this old German custom, this solemn handing of arms and she idealized it. She said to the feudal baron "Moderate your courage. They did moderate it and their savagery by degrees became their prowess . . . . first loyalty, then largesse, then moderation and finally that perfection of civilized chivalry which we call courtesy. Honor crowns them all. 'Death rather than dishonor'; the whole code of chivalry is contained in these four words, which, by the grace of God, have become a common-place terms with us."[1]

The system of education which gradually developed in connection with chivalry included three stages: page, squire, and knight. Up to the age of seven or eight the boy was educated at home under the care of his mother. He was trained in obedience, politeness, courtesy, received the first rudiments of his religious instruction and played to develop strength, agility and endurance. At the age of seven

1. Gautier, L., La Chevalerie, trans. by Frith, Ch. I.

or eight he left his father's castle for the court of some other nobleman, usually his father's immediate suzerain, though children of kings and great feudal lords were commonly educated at home. From seven to fourteen the boy was called a page. He was an attendant to the ladies, though he might also render some personal service to his lord. He learned how to read and write in the vernacular, sing, play chess and other games; sometimes he also received instruction in Latin; his religious education was continued and through active service he was trained in obedience, courtesy and politeness. Physical exercises, running, jumping, swimming, scaling walls, boxing, wrestling and the use of the light weapons also occupied a great part of his time. At the age of fourteen or fifteen the boy ceased to be a page and was known as a squire. Though still at times in company with his lady and discharging various offices in the castle, he was now the special companion, the body-servant of his lord to whom he rendered all sorts of personal services; he made his bed, helped him to dress, looked after his weapons, groomed his horse, watched him at night and when he was sick, and protected him in battle. He learned to hunt, to ride in armor, and wield the sword, the spear, and the battle ax, to rhyme and to sing, to play the harp and to dance; he was taught to show reverence for sacred things, respect for women and courtesy to all. He had to serve as squire for seven years and at twenty-one he was dubbed knight. This solemn ceremony was preceded by a night of watch and prayer in the church, confession, the Holy Communion, the Missa de Spiritu Sancto and the sermon on knightly life. The ceremony took place in the presence of the whole court. The squire gave his sword to the priest who blessed it at the altar. He then took the oath "To defend the Church, to attack the wicked, to respect the priesthood, to protect women and the poor, to preserve the country in tranquility, and to shed his

The page

The squire

The knight

blood even to the last drop in behalf of his brethren." His sword was then returned to him by the priest who exhorted him to fulfill all his duties as a knight; he then knelt before his lord who drew his own sword and holding it over the aspirant said: "In the name of God, of our Lady, of thy Patron Saint and of St. Michael and St. George I dub thee knight; be brave (touching him with the sword on one shoulder), be bold (upon the other shoulder), be loyal (on the head)."

The value of chivalric education

The education of the knight, preparing as it did for the military profession and courtly life, naturally contained much that was merely physical and insisted on training in the external forms of politeness and good manners. It lacked the hard and fast forms and most of the material of clerical education, but it contained a certain intellectual element. Though pages and squires might frequently be dispensed from learning to write, great importance was always attached to learning the foreign languages, especially French; sometimes Latin, more rarely Greek, were also learned. The favorite texts of chivalric education were of course the poems and tales which told of knightly deeds. These adventures, it was thought, were a concrete embodiment of knightly ideals and they could not fail to foster the knightly spirit. By far the most important element in chivalric education was the moral training which it involved. Through years of personal service the youth was trained in obedience and loyalty to his lord, fidelity to his plighted word and in general in the practice of all the manly virtues of a Christian gentleman. As a knight he was bound by his vows to shun in word and deed anything that might cast a blemish upon his character as a man of honor. The greatest dishonor that might be offered to a knight was to charge him with falsehood; any offense against the weak and unarmed brought with it indelible disgrace, and the true knight was he who forgot his own glory to publish the

Here sheweth how this noble lorde Richard Beauchamp Erle of Warrewyk
was made knyght. to the whiche ordre in processe of tyme we shall appere
folowyng by his noble acte. he did great honour & worshyp

Ceremony of Knighthood. (Warwick Mss.)

lofty deeds of his companions in arms. Chivalry reached its golden age in the great crusade movement of the twelfth century and early thirteenth. After the passing of this great wave it began to decline, the decorum and the manners of the courtier supplanting more and more the substantial virtues of the earlier knight. With the close of the Middle ages it had practically passed away, but by that time, like other mediaeval institutions which shared the same fate, it had achieved the end for which it had been created by the Church. It had exercised a restraining influence on the rude warriors of the North, it had dignified personal service, and it had developed the sense of honor, of loyalty to constituted authority, of fidelity to plighted word; it had also contributetd in elevating the position of women and it influenced the development of modern literature by the inspiration it afforded to poets.

The establishment of the Holy Roman Empire. In 911 the descendants of Charlemagne became extinct in Germany. The danger of complete anarchy within and the attacks of enemies without induced the feudal lords, though reluctantly, to select an overlord from another house. Their choice fell on Conrad of Franconia (911-918) and after him on the Duke of Saxony, Henry the Fowler, in whose house the crown remained for more than a century, (919-1024). Henry the Fowler established strongholds along the exposed frontiers, built a number of new fortified towns and gave the nation a new military organization. He reaped the fruits of his organizing labors in the great victory which he won over the Hungarians at Merseburg in 934. His son, Otto I the Great (936-973) continued with vigor the work of his predecessor. He firmly established his rule at home, organized the northern and eastern frontiers into marches which became vigorous military states and homes of civilization, and by his decisive victory on the Lechfeld in 955 he put an end to the Hungarian invasions in the West. In 961, during his second expedition into Italy, he received

Origin

the Imperial Crown from Pope John XII. Thus was established what came to be known later on as the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation." "Holy" because its chief aim was the protection of Christendom and especially of its head; "Roman Empire" because it took the place of the defunct Empire of the West; "Of the German Nation" because the German princes had the right of electing the candidate for coronation. Under Otto I and his immediate successors the relations between the Church and the Empire were on the whole cordial, but this harmony came to an end in the eleventh century over the question of

Lay investiture

lay investiture, a consequence of the feudal system. Since churches, bishoprics and abbeys were in possession of royal and imperial fiefs the transfer of these fiefs to a new bishop or abbot had to be made by the temporal power; the transfer or lay investiture did not encroach upon the ecclesiastical jurisdiction so long as it followed the canonical appointment of the new bishop or abbot. Gradually however the princes extended their claims; they assumed the right to promote their own candidate before the chapter of the cathedral or abbey and to order his consecration by an archbishop. It was to remove this evil, which had even reached the papal chair and threatened the very freedom of the Church, that Nicholas II and especially St. Gregory VII issued the famous decrees which opened a conflict that was to last for more than a century and a half. In this conflict, the popes not only fought for the liberty of the Church, but they were also the champions of the independence of Italy which the emperors wished to reduce into a vassal of the German Crown. Most of the Italian cities

Revival of the study of law

sided with the Holy See and in 1167, those in the Valley of the Pô founded, as a means of defense, what was known as the Lombard League. One remarkable result of the conflict was the revival of the study of law. Though some knowledge of the Roman Law had survived the invasions,

men did not attach much importance to it until they realized that the old Roman legal literature contained effective weapons wherewith to fight German aggression. Then they turned with eagerness and enthusiasm to what they possessed of the old Roman Law, and there was everywhere a feverish search for missing texts, for charters, decrees, grants of power, any document the study and interpretation of which was likely to yield additional support to the Italian claims for independent legal rights. The leader in this revival of the Old Roman Law was the great student and teacher Irnerius (c. 1070-1137) who for a number of years lectured at Bologna on the Code and Institutes of Justinian and with his co-laborers at Bologna collected the whole body of the Roman Law or Corpus Juris Civilis.[1] At about the same time Gratian, a Camaldolese monk and professor of theology at Bologna, in order to obviate the difficulties which beset the study of practical theology i.e. Canon law, composed the work commonly known as Decretum Gratiani. The work is divided into three parts. The first part contains an introduction to the general principles of Canon law and questions relative to ecclesiastical persons and functions; the second part treats of ecclesiastical administration and marriage; the third part deals with the Sacraments and other sacred things. Gratian raises questions much after the fashion of Abelard's *Sic et*

1. This Corpus Juris Civilis is a compilation of the laws and decisions made in the Roman Empire. The work of codifying these laws and decisions was carried on at the direction of the Eastern Emperor Justinian I (527-565) by a commission of trained lawyers containing the famous Tribonianus and Theophilus.

The Corpus Juris Civilis consists of four parts:

I. The Code, an orderly compendium of the statutes of the Emperors.
II. The Digest or Pandects, a collection of opinions by eminent lawyers.
III. The Institutes, a manual of law for students.
IV. The Authentic or Novels containing the decisions made by Justinian's own court.

Non, which he answers by quoting authorities, i.e. canons of Councils, decretals of the Pope, texts of the Scriptures and the Fathers, which are the canons in the real sense of the term. The Decretum Gratiani together with other collections added to it later on,[1] formed a large body of Canon law, the study of which took its place by the side of civil law, theology and medicine in the work of the mediaeval universities.

The crusades. From the very beginning of Christianity the greatest veneration had been shown by the Faithful for the places hallowed by the footsteps of the Saviour. Churches had been built, asylums and hospitals erected for the reception and care of the pilgrims from all classes of people who came from every country to visit the Holy Land. The Caliphs of Bagdad generally treated the pilgrims considerately but there came a marked change in the attitude of the Moslems when Syria and Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Fatimites of Egypt (967); the sufferings of the Christians were still further increased by the conquest of the Holy Land by the Seljuk Turks (1076). By hundreds and thousands pilgrims went to Jerusalem and returned by tens and units to tell Europe of the miseries they had endured and witnessed in Palestine. Already in 1000 Sylvester II called upon the faithful in the West to send armed assistance to their brethren in the East. St. Gregory VII intended to put himself at the head of a Christian army to free the Holy Land from the infidels, but the contest about lay investitures prevented him from carrying his plans into execution. At last the sufferings of the Christian pilgrims and the feelings of their brethren

1. These additions were:
The Decretals of Gregory IX, 1234;
The Decretals of Boniface VIII, 1298;
The Decretals of John XXII, 1317;
Constitutions of other popes added by canonists to the preceding.

Mediaeval Pilgrims. (Van Eyck.)
© Toni Landau.

in the West found a telling expression in the eloquent appeals of Pope Urban II and Peter the Hermit who, on his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, preached the Cross with astonishing results in Italy, France and Germany. In 1095 at the council of Clermont in Auvergne the stirring appeals of Pope Urban II were greeted with the universal shout "God Wills It!" and thousands took the Cross upon the spot. An irregular and undisciplined vanguard of Crusaders led by Peter the Hermit reached the plains of Nicaea but was cut to pieces by the Turks. The divisions of the regular army taking different routes under different leaders met at Constantinople in April 1097. They crossed the Bosphorus to the number, it is said, of several hundred thousands, took Nicaea, defeated a Turkish army at Doryloeum and captured the city of Antioch after a long and hard siege. At last in the summer of 1099 the army of the Crusaders, now fearfully thinned by fighting, disease, want of provisions and the hardships of the march, reached Jerusalem which was stormed on the fifteenth of July. Godfrey of Bouillon, the worthiest of the leaders was chosen King of Jerusalem but he contented himself with the title of Baron and Protector of the Holy Sepulchre. The kingdom was organized on the western feudal plan; castles were built along the frontiers and all the coast cities were conquered with the assistance of the fleets of Venice, Genoa and Pisa. Other Crusades took place in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, first to bring relief to the hard pressed kingdom of Jerusalem, later on for its recovery after it had been conquered by Saladin. All these Crusades failed of their chief purpose[1] but the immense sacrifices in men

1. Crusades of a somewhat different character, which were crowned with full success, were organized in the north and south of Europe. The Teutonic Knights in alliance with the Knights of the Sword gradually overcame the resistance of the barbarous inhabitants of Livonia, Courland and Prussia. Spanish history from the seventh to the sixteenth centuries is hardly anything else than the record of a long crusade carried on by the Christians to recover the land from the Saracens.

and money which all these expeditions entailed had not been made in vain. The Crusades checked the advance of the Mussulmans and postponed the conquest of the Greek Empire by the Turks for four hundred years. They brought together East and West as they had never been before since the time of Alexander the Great and this contact brought with it an exchange of products and ideas resulting in a substantial gain for both continents. The nations of the West were drawn closer to each other. Christians from every land meeting in the Holy Land for the same cause came to know one another and to consider themselves as members of one great community. Navigation received a powerful impetus. From all the harbors of the West there went fleets transporting pilgrims, provisions and arms to the East. Nautical knowledge increased everywhere; mariners began to show a tendency to leave the beaten path and bold travelers began to visit unknown and distant lands.[1] Western traders became familiar with the whole seacoast of Europe and the two chief commercial roads: by the Mediterranean to the Italian ports, and through Hungary, Bulgaria and the Greek Empire. The wealth of the East passed into the maritime cities of Europe, especially the Italian and the North German cities. The rise of the German Hansa dates from that time. New arts, new plants, new inventions for the manufacture of armour, glasswares, textile fabrics, were brought into Europe by the traders. Finally the crusades greatly contributed to the growth and development of the western communes.

Influence of the crusades on western civilization

The rise of city life. In most Italian cities and to some extent in the southern French cities, because of the deeper influence of Roman civilization, Roman municipal institutions had partly survived the barbarian invasions and they continued to thrive after the storm in spite of feudalism.

In the south

1. One of the most famous of these early European travelers was Marco Polo who wrote an interesting account of his expedition.

Effigy representing Richard Wellyburne de Montfort, son of Simon de Montfort as a Crusader.

By the beginning of the eleventh century most of the northern Italian cities, under the leadership of their bishops, had secured almost complete autonomy and some were fast becoming independent republics. In the north of Europe on the other hand, where Roman institutions had been swept away by the greater violence of the barbarian invasion, the eleventh century found the northern cities still far from anything like a semblance of self government, though there was even there a movement towards local autonomy. Many towns, especially in the Low Countries, had already received charters of rights and privileges from their local lords; sometimes these charters were granted freely by the lord, sometimes they were wrested from him by the burghers. As stated before, the Crusades contributed much towards the political emancipation of the cities. Many lords exchanged their rights over cities for the money they needed for crusading purposes, so that numerous cities and towns were able to purchase their political liberty. Indirectly the Crusades benefited the cities in another way, by eliminating forever thousands of trouble-makers, quarrelling, fighting noblemen who died in the East. Many fiefs which became vacant in this way reverted to the crown whose power was thus increased, and an increase of the royal power in these feudal times usually made for greater security, freedom and prosperity for the people. Commerce was everywhere rapidly rising. In the thirteenth century many northern cities, among them Augsburg, Nuremburg, Magdeburg, Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Antwerp, London were fast becoming great trading cities like their Italian sisters in the South. Local industries were developing into important trades in many places: the wool and weaving industry in Flanders, the glass industry in Venice, the gold and silver industry in Florence. A banking class first developed in the Italian cities, gradually extended to other

In the north

The rise of a commercial and industrial class

commercial centers. The use of money and credit once more took the place everywhere of barter, and commercial transactions being made more easy became more frequent and important. Trade and industry were furthermore greatly encouraged by the fairs or yearly markets which were held in the large inland towns, and to which flocked merchants from far and near, and people from the surrounding district, who exchanged not only their wares but ideas and experiences as well. Under these conditions the population of the cities increased rapidly and thus there developed a new class, a new estate, by the side of the nobility, the clergy and the peasants, the city burghers, who needed for their children a new type of education.

Artistic revival. The first five centuries following the fall of the Western Empire (476), the so-called Dark Ages, constituted in the field of art as in the field of learning a formative period during which there developed a new architecture founded upon the traditions of the early Christian builders, modified in different regions by Roman and Byzantine influences. This new architecture is known in the history of art under the generic name of Romanesque, though its manifestations vary, at times greatly, from one country to another. In general the Romanesque style preserves the disposition of the early Christian church, the basilica, but the structure is simpler, more massive, the vault of stone has taken the place of the flat wooden roof of the basilica and there has been added a bell tower or campanile. Gradually too there were added to the structure internal and external embellishments in the form of slender columnettes, blind arcades, columns resting on the backs of lions and monsters. The first noteworthy manifestations of Romanesque architecture appeared in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, more elegant, more adorned in the south of Europe, more massive, simpler in the north. S. Ambrogio at Milan, the cathedrals of Pisa and Piacenza

Romanesque architecture

Façade and Campanile of Chiesa de S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.

RAVENNA. EMILIA CHIESA DE APOLLINARE NUOVO. (Interior nave and aisles looking east.)

in Italy, St. Front at Périgueux and the cathedral of Cahors in France, the cathedrals of Speyer and Trier in Germany and the cathedral of Durham in England, all belong to this period. By far the greatest number of monuments of early mediaeval architecture were the work of the monks, who in this matter as in so many others were the educators of the West. Around 1150 there began to appear a new style of architecture, the Gothic style,[1] which out of the simple and massive models of the early twelfth century developed the splendid cathedrals of the thirteenth and fourteenth, in France, England, the Netherlands, Germany and Spain. During this period the leadership in building passed from the monks to the laity whose guilds of masons, carpenters, stone cutters and other crafts were founded on a wise division of labor which made for efficiency and artistic finish in every line of the builder's art. Each man was entrusted only with such parts as he was especially trained to undertake, but in his own particular sphere he was allowed the greatest freedom; no bounds, it seems, were assigned to his fancy except those that were imposed by the general arrangement and scheme of the edifice. Thus are explained the remarkable variety and artistic finish of the details in the unity of the Gothic style. The characteristic elements of this style are the pointed arch, the ribbed vault, the spire, the height and slenderness of all parts of the structure together with the wealth of its decoration. While the cathedrals are the most imposing manifestations of Gothic architecture they are not the only ones; hundreds of abbeys, castles, town halls, guild halls, hospitals, chapels and colleges scattered all over Europe were built in the same style and they bear witness, like

Gothic architecture

1. Gothic, from Goth, i.e. barbarian. The French "ogival" which refers to the most characteristic feature of that style, if it could be used in English, would be more appropriate than an inept term coined by the ignorance and hatred of subsequent ages.

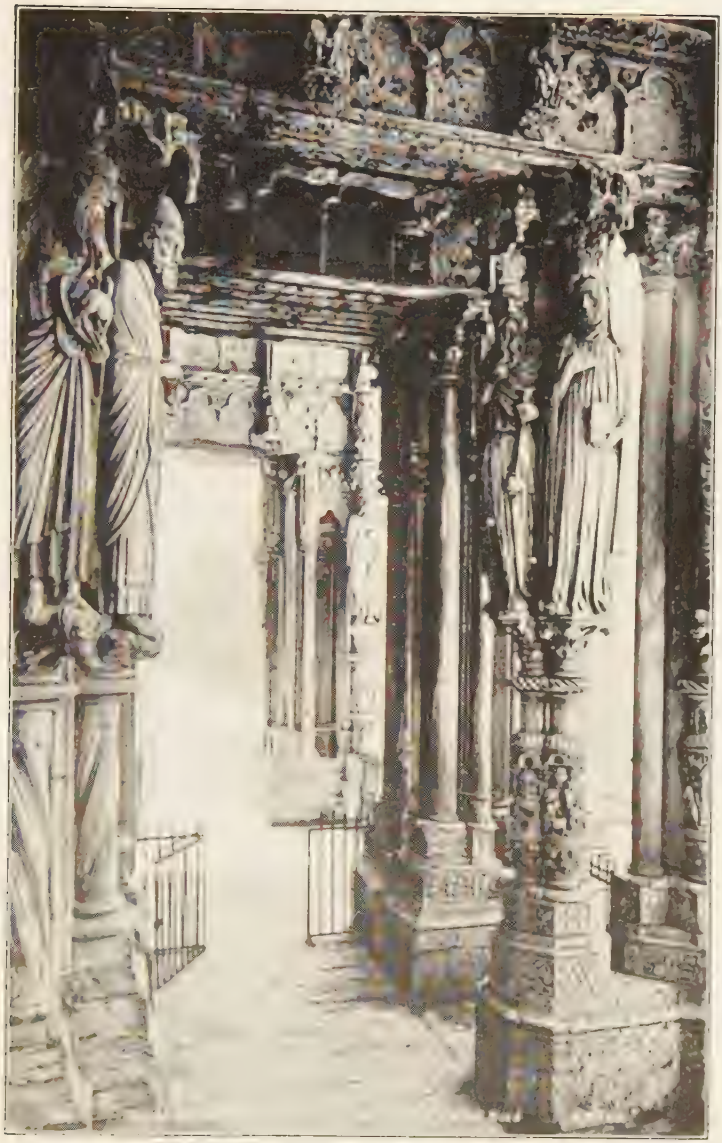
the cathedrals, to the fertile imagination and refined artistic taste of the Middle Ages. Along with this remarkable development of mediaeval architecture there was taking place a no less striking revival of sculpture and painting. One of the most admirable features of the Gothic Cathedral is its internal and external decoration, its richly molded tracery, the delicate carvings on the capitals, pulpits, door and window heads, the statues of apostles, saints, martyrs, virtues and vices,[1] together with a world of goblins, devils, monstrous beasts. No less noteworthy than this sculpural ornamentation of the cathedral are its stained glass windows, many of them pieces of admirable workmanship, reproducing stories from the Bible or the lives of the Saints, or scenes from everyday life. It is also to this period (13th century) that belong the first two great names in the history of Italian painting, those of Cimabue and Giotto. But the mediaeval artistic activity was not limited to architecture, painting and sculpture. It found expression in the manufacture of the greatest variety of objects: chalices, sacred vestments, altar pieces, crosses, parts of armour, keys, locks, trunks, the fine workmanship of which still compels our admiration.[2] This remarkable artistic revival had a no less remarkable educative influence on the people. It produced all over Europe a class of artisan artists which in point of relative membership to the mediaeval population, devotion to their work and actual achievements have never been surpassed if they have ever been equalled. Every town or city in which there was built a cathedral (and its erection was often the work of several generations) became a center for a tech-

Sculpture and painting

Educative influence

1. Some of these statues like the Magdalen of the Bordeaux cathedral have been placed by critics on a par with the masterpieces of Greek classic art.

2. One of the most remarkable collections of such objects is kept in the Cluny Museum in Paris.



CATHEDRAL. Chartres. (Detail of the North entrance.)

ST. AUGUSTINE'S FREE LIBRARY

nical education no less complete and efficient if less bookish and theoretical than in our own day. More important still was the effect of the artistic revival on the population. The intention of the cathedral builders was not so much to please as to teach and for those that came to worship in them the cathedrals were indeed "books in stone." Every part in the arrangement of the structure, every detail in the decoration of the great edifice had its own message to convey in religion or morals or history or philosophy or even in natural science.

The rise of national languages and literature. Notwithstanding the change of rulers in the West, Latin, as we had occasion to remark before, had remained the language of the schools. No other language could as yet take its place. In its mediaeval form, Latin had lost, of course, much of its classical purity; it had been adapted to the needs of the times, but such as it was, it had become a living language for the learned class. It was the language of the Church, the language of diplomacy, of the chroniclers, of all textbooks, and the language of one of the most remarkable literary bequests of the Middle Ages, the great Latin Hymns like the *Dies Irae* and *Stabat Mater*, which held then and still hold to-day among Catholics, such an important place in the religious life of the people. The masses and the nobility used a different language, a neo-latin or Teutonic idiom, which was still in the formative stage but full of vigor and rich promises for the future, and which even in this early stage was developing a literature of no mean value. The first products of this new literary movement were little love poems and simple ballads, the work of wandering bards, troubadours in the south, trouvères in the north of France and Norman England, Minnesingers and Meistersingers in Germany, who went from castle to castle to sing their compositions before the barons and noble ladies. This early mediaeval poetry was at

Latin

The new languages and some of their literary products

first transmitted orally with additions and embellishments from one generation to the other, and in this way there grew up in every country around national heroes, Saints and mythical characters a great body of ballads which were coordinated and committed to writing in or around the eleventh century. Thus were composed the *Cid* in Spain, the *Niebelungen Lied* in Germany, *Chansons de Gestes* in France and the *Arthurian Legends* in England and France. In the same way and at about the same time were composed the fabliaux or tales of common, everyday life and *Reynard the Fox,* the *Animal Epic,* in which man, his foibles and passions take on the cloak of animal life. In the thirteenth century the leadership in this literary movement, as well as in the artistic and scholastic movement, belonged to France. The *Romance of the Rose,* a didatic, allegorical poem and one of the most read mediaeval books, was the work of two Frenchmen, Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung. Brunetto Latini, the master of Dante, composed his *Great Treasure* in French because it was then the "best and most commonly used language." Historical prose writing in the vernacular had its beginnings in England but its first noteworthy specimens were produced in thirteenth century French: Villehardouin's *Conquest of Constantinople* and Joinville's *Life of St. Louis.* The crowning achievement of mediaeval literary activity however was produced not in France but in Italy: Dante's *Divine Comedy* which has taken its place by the side of the greatest literary compositions of all time. From a purely educational viewpoint the most interesting form of mediaeval literature is the drama. Growing out of the Church ritual and the celebration of her great feast days, the mediaeval drama developed into mystery plays and miracle plays which in the thirteenth century were very common in England and France. Miracle plays represented the lives of the Saints while mystery plays exhibited scenes

The mediaeval drama and its educative influence

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

from the Old and New Testament. Miracle and mystery plays came to be organized into cycles, of which each important town, at least in England, had its own for its guilds to perform. The whole cycle was generally presented once a year in a continuous performance lasting sometimes for over a week. This was the great social event of the year for which the townspeople would make the most elaborate preparations a long time in advance. Each one of the town guilds had its own part to perform in the celebration and there was not a little competition among the different guilds as to which would make the best display during the celebration.

New religious Orders. We have seen in chapter IV that the reforms of the Benedictine rule in the tenth and eleventh centuries led to the establishment of many new and independent Orders which branched off from the original Benedictines. Though these reforms were not aimed at the schools they had nevertheless a general educational influence, in that they resulted in raising the tone of religious life and therefore of Christian morals. In the twelfth century the Benedictine influence on education began to decline; the conduct of the schools, which from the seventh to the eleventh centuries had been almost entirely in the hands of the monks, gradually passed into those of new congregations and of the secular and regular clergy. The Canons Regular especially displayed at this time a remarkable educational activity. The Order, known also as Clerics Regular, Augustinian Canons, had existed long before the twelfth century but it received a new life from the great reformation movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. As a consequence of this revival a great number of congregations of canons sprang into existence, which often received the name of the place where they had been founded, as for example the congregation established in 1109 by William of Champeaux in the monastery of St.

Benedictine decline. The Canons Regular

Victor near Paris. The Canons Regular led the life of the religious but shorn of its monastic austerity; they recited daily in common the divine office in the choir; they studied and prayed and at the same time they were prepared at the bidding of their superiors to take care of parishes, to administer the Sacraments, to work among the poor, to tend the sick, to give hospitality to pilgrims and travelers. Teaching was also a very common occupation among these congregations of Canons. Many of their numbers taught not only in cathedral schools but in schools connected with collegiate or other churches. One of the best known of canonical schools, already referred to, was that of St. Victor, made famous by the teaching of its founder, William of Champeaux, and that of the great mystics, Hugh, Walter and Richard of St. Victor. Even more famous in the field of education was the congregation of the Brethren of the Common Life, founded in the fourteenth century by Geert De Groot. Before the close of the fifteenth century it had studded Germany and the Netherlands with free elementary schools and developed many higher schools which became centers of the New Learning in the north of Europe, and counted among their teachers or pupils Thomas à Kempis, Pope Adrian VI, Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, Rudolph Agricola and Erasmus.

and Canonesses Regular

Many congregations of Canonesses Regular or communities of women following the rule of St. Augustine were also reformed or founded in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Their members like those of the similar congregations of men devoted their lives to a variety of occupations and not infrequently to the instruction of girls and boys.

Mendicant Orders

In the thirteenth century new Orders arose which differed from the earlier ones in their aim and mode of living. They lived on alms whence their name Mendicant or begging orders and they led a life of contemplation to which some of them united an active course in teaching

or preaching. The Mendicant Orders founded in the thirteenth century were the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, the Augustinian Hermits and the Servites. Of these the first two exerted a deep influence on mediaeval education.

The Franciscans

The Franciscans[1] or Order of the Friars Minor were founded in 1209 by St. Francis, "the poor man of Assisi;" they were, according to the wish of the Saint, not only to devote themselves to their own sanctification but to promote by their preaching and the example of their virtues the salvation of the people in the world. The habit which Francis gave to his followers was a grey gown of coarse cloth with a cowl attached to it and a rope girdle[2] whence the name "Gray Friars." The order of St. Francis spread with a rapidity that was unprecedented in the history of religious orders. At the general chapter of 1221 there were already 3000 friars and by the close of the thirteenth century their number exceeded 50,000 distributed in more than 1,500 cloisters. Though established to minister to all classes of society, the Franciscans, in imitation of their saintly founder, did their most important work among the very poor over whom they exercised a most salutary influence, through their preaching, the example of their own poverty, and their practice of charity for Christ's sake. Their monasteries made vast contributions to the maintenance of the needy; they tended the lepers, they founded infirmaries and foundling hospitals. Like the Dominicans, the Franciscans also contributed greatly to the intellectual

1. The Franciscan Order includes a number of foundations whether of men or women professing to follow the Rule of St. Francis of Assisi. The Saint himself founded the Friars Minor or First Order, a second order for women commonly known as Poor Clares because St. Clare was its first member, and a Third Order for persons living in the world. See Cath. Encyc., Franciscans ,Friars.

2. The French name of the order, Cordeliers, from "corde", a rope, comes from this detail in the Franciscan habit.

revival of the thirteenth century. The Order not only produced a large number of artists, poets, and writers on theology and science but many of its members occupied with distinction and brilliancy chairs of philosophy and theology in the universities.

The Dominicans

The Dominicans were founded in 1215 by St. Dominic, while he was devoting himself to the conversion of the Albigenses in the south of France. St. Dominic's chief object was to furnish the Church with a body of zealous preachers and missionaries for the instruction of the Faithful and the conversion of the heretics. The habit which he gave to his religious was a white tunic with a scapular and black mantle, hence the name "Black Friars." The Order was approved in 1215 by Pope Honorius III under the title of Preaching Friars. St. Dominic also founded an Order for women to whom he gave the rule of the friars and a Tertiary Order or Third Order for the benefit of those who were desirous to associate themselves with the work of the Friars but could not leave the world. The Order of Preachers spread very rapidly. At the death of St. Dominic in 1221 they possessed more than sixty establishments scattered all over Europe. In 1256, less than half a century after the recognition of the Order by the Holy See there were more than 5000 Dominican priests and at least 2000 Dominican lay brothers. Each one of the Dominican houses had its conventual school, directed by a doctor, and attended not only by the religious of the house but by clerics from the outside. The chief subjects of study were the sacred sciences and the languages of the countries where the Preachers conducted missions. Thus Arabic, Greek and Hebrew were commonly studied in the south. Very early the Order took a promiment part in university life and they greatly contributed to the development of philosophy and theology; many Dominicans like St. Thomas and Bl. Albertus Magnus were among the

greatest university teachers of the thirteenth century. In addition to an enormous output of literature on biblical subjects, on philosophy, theology, apologetics, history and canon law, the Dominicans composed many other works to meet the needs of the various classes of society: treatises on preaching, collections of sermons, catechisms and collections of the lives of the Saints. The *Golden Legend*, one of the most read books of the Middle Ages is the work or a Dominican, Jacopo de Voragine. The Dominicans also produced remarkable educational treatises: St. Thomas' *"De Magistro,"* William of Tournay's *"De modo docendi pueros,"* Vincent of Beauvais' *"De eruditione filiorum regalium."*

Some of the military orders which were founded at the time of the Crusades were also active along educational lines. There are several instances on record that the Knights of St. John, the Teutonic Knights and the order of Calatrava supported and conducted schools.

Military Orders

The mediaeval school system. Though the tenth century had seen a marked decline in the number and efficiency of the schools, the system as a whole was still, at the beginning of the eleventh century, as the Carlovingian revival had left it. It consisted of two classes of schools: monastic schools, which were taught and superintended by the monks, and diocesan schools which came directly under the bishop's jurisdiction. The monastic schools have been described at some length in chapter IV. In the diocesan schools the teaching staff was composed of clerics of the diocese, assisted, if need be, by religious and laymen whose services had been engaged with the approval of the bishop or the superintendent of the diocesan schools. Before the eleventh century the practice of teaching was free, in the sense that it was not controlled by any specific ecclesiastical regulation. Later on, all who intended to teach were required to obtain a license from the bishop or those to

The diocesan schools

whom he had delegated his powers in the matter.[1] The recipient of the license was required to take an oath of fealty and obedience. At first the license was granted free of charge but gradually there grew a custom of charging fees for its issuance. It was to remove this abuse that the third Lateran Council (1179) forbade the taking of any fee for the issuance of a license and the levying of any tax on teachers, under penalty for the transgressor of losing his benefice. Instruction was generally free of charge in the elementary diocesan as well as monastic schools; only in rare cases, when the monastery or parish church were too poor to defray the school expenses, was a fee charged on the students. The discipline of the schools in each diocese ultimately rested with the ecclesiastical superior who could use coercive measures, even, if need be, excommunication and removal from office of any teacher that was deemed unworthy. We have already seen that owing to the scarcity and high cost of books and writing materials instruction in the mediaeval school had to be chiefly oral. A common device to relieve the situation was to spread large skins on the walls, on which were represented in the form of trees, stories and genealogies from the Bible, catalogues of vices and virtues etc.

The cathedral school

Of the diocesan schools the most important was the cathedral school, so-called because it was maintained at the cathedral of the diocese. It was a development of the school which in the primitive Church was kept in the bishop's house. In the eighth century canonical life had been introduced among the cathedral clergy and this common clerical life at the diocesan center greatly benefited the school. Sometimes the bishop himself would teach, though the ordinary teacher was the scholasticus, the

1. Cancellarius (chancellor) and Scholasticus (Scholaster = Fr écolâtre) are the more common mediaeval names of these officials.

bishop's delegate at the cathedral school; not infrequently learned monks or even laymen were engaged to assist the scholasticus in his work. The cathedral schools were attended not only by the prospective members of the clergy but also by lay scholars; they were divided into inner or boarding school for clerical students, and outer or day school for the lay scholars. The cathedral school being essentially a training school for clerics, great importance was attached to the study of the sacred sciences and the moral and spiritual formation of the students. The more advanced secular studies pursued in these schools were the seven liberal arts; of these the first and most important in the early Middle Ages was grammar, and for this reason the cathedral schools, as also some monastic schools, came to be known as grammar schools. The cathedral schools and the monastic schools of the same class were the advanced educational institutions of western Europe until the twelfth century and it was out of some of them that grew the early mediaeval universities.

Song and parish schools

Below the cathedral schools there were in each diocese song and parish schools. The song schools were organized to train boys for the musical part in the services of the cathedral church. St. Gregory the Great (540-614) had founded the *Schola Cantorum* in Rome and his example was followed by the bishops whenever this was possible. In addition to their musical training the boys received instruction in religion, reading, writing and arithmetic and the more promising ones would even begin the study of grammar. Song schools were also established in connection with non-cathedral churches. The students in all song schools were placed in charge of the precentor (Choir Master), and as song schools developed in each diocese, the cathedral precentor obtained the supervision of all these schools and sometimes of all elementary diocesan schools. In a like manner the scolasticus from being the head

master of the cathedral school became in the course of time the superintendent of all diocesan schools. The third Lateran council, already referred to, gave its official sanction to this change in the official status of the cathedral head master.

The bishops were not only expected to maintain a school at the cathedral seat but to promote education in every part of their diocese. As early as 529 the council of Vaison in Gaul had urged the parish priests of all dioceses to maintain schools in their own houses in imitation of what was already done in Italy. The decrees of councils and synods, the records of cathedrals, parishes and towns and the testimony of contemporary writers, all bear witness to the never flagging interest of the Church in this matter and one is permitted to draw the conclusion that parish work in the Middle Ages always included elementary instruction of some kind.

Though the following types of schools did not appear until the latter part of the Middle Ages they will be enumerated here in order to complete in this chapter the description of the mediaeval school system.

The chantry schools

The chantry school, or stipendiary school, quite common in England at the close of the Middle Ages, was conducted by a priest in charge of a chantry. Chantries were foundations in which the donor stipulated that masses should be offered for the repose of his soul or of others whom he mentioned. The donor also very often stipulated that the priest should perform some charitable works, such as caring for the aged or infirm, or visiting the sick in hospitals, or that they should teach gratis a certain number of children. The instruction to be given would sometimes be of the most rudimentary character, but sometimes too provision would be made for the maintenance of a grammar school.

Guild schools

Many guilds of merchants and artisans maintained a school for the benefit of the children of the asso-

ciation. In these guild schools the vernacular was chiefly taught and they were as a rule purely elementary, though some offered advanced instruction, as for example the famous Merchant Taylors' in London. In many towns and cities there were also, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, private elementary schools conducted either by individuals or communities as for example guilds of teachers. Such schools are sometimes called venture schools; like the guild elementary schools they gave instruction chiefly in the vernacular. Some of these private institutions were taught by wandering scholars (scholares vagantes — called also Bacchantes). These wandering scholars travelled from place to place and they set up their school in whatever town or village struck their fancy; sometimes they would thus move from place to place with their pupils, among them small boys (A B C Shooters) whose chief occupation was, it seems, to beg and sometimes to steal for their masters. Out of the parish schools, and in some cases the guild or other private schools, there developed in the latter part of the Middle Ages the burgher schools, chiefly controlled and supported by the town or city, though even in these the Church retained the right of inspection through her scholasticus. Thus we see that the Middle Ages had made ample provision for elementary education and as Paulsen says: "It seems safe to assume that, at the end of the Middle Ages, the entire population of the town, with the exception of the lowest classes, was able to read and to write. No statistics are available, but the most convincing evidence that could be desired is afforded by the rapid development of the art of printing into an important industry. This would have been impossible without a universal demand for books."[1]

Other private schools

The wandering scholars

The burgher schools

1. Paulsen, F., German Education, p. 31.

Questions for Discussion

1—How could you account for the present backward condition of the Mussulmans?
2—What was in your opinion the most beneficent result of the Crusades for European culture.
3—Are there any traces of the feudal system in present day social conditions?
4—Is modern warfare less devastating than mediaeval warfare? Are wars less common now than in the Middle Ages?
5—What modern international legislation would correspond somewhat to the Truce of God?
6—Contrast the various educational agencies in a mediaeval and modern city.
7—What form has the mediaeval conflict between Church and State taken today?
8—Is the influence of art on the masses greater today than in the Middle Ages? Why?
9—Has the modern drama a more beneficent influence on the masses than the mediaeval drama?
10—Contrast the facilities for popular education now and in the 15th century.

SOURCES

See Chapters V, VII, VIII, IX.
Lists of sources will also be found in the works listed under "References."

REFERENCES

Allain (l'abbé), L'Instruction primaire en France avant la Révolution.
Ameer, A., A Short History of the Saracens.
Ashley, W., Introduction to English Economic History.
Bell, A., Historical Sketches of Feudal Life.
Gautier, L., Chivalry.
Goodyear, W., History of Art.
Green, J.R., Town Life in the 15th Century.
Heimbucher, J., Die Orden und Kongregationen der katolischen Kirche.
Lacroix, P., Science and Literature in the Middle Ages.
Lebon, L., Histoire de l'Education Populaire en Belgique.
Lavisse, Rambaud, L'Europe Féodale. Les Croisades.
Maitland, S., The Dark Ages.
Paulsen, Fr., German Education, Past and Present.
Ribera, J., La Enseñanza entre los Musulmanes Españoles.
Routledge, R., Popular History of Science.

CHAPTER VII

INDUSTRIAL LIFE AND EDUCATION

Social and economic conditions in the early Middle Ages. In the early Middle Ages there was hardly any industial life in the modern sense of the term. Urban centers of population were comparatively few and without great importance. The old Roman municipia[1] had become the mere shadow of their former selves and many centuries were yet to pass before they would regain anything like their pristine splendor. New centers were in the process of making,—in England, France, the Netherlands and Germany,—but they were as yet hardly anything else than struggling towns. The bulk of the population at that time lived in the country, and was passing through a social and economic transformation.

Little industrial life in the early Middle Ages

After her official recognition by the imperial government the Church gradually succeeded in eliminating the evil of slavery from the Roman world. By the close of the fifth century, serfdom had almost everywhere taken the place of slavery, but the Barbarians brought it back with them wherever they settled, and the work of emancipation and education had to be done all over again. Nor was this work less needed or less difficult, than it had been under the Roman rule, for barbarian paganism was just as pitiless for the slave as its more refined counterpart in the South of Europe. Before the Germanic law just as before the Roman law, the slave was the property of the master who

1. Self-governing towns and cities.

could dispose of him as he pleased. Marriage between slaves had no legal status; children of slaves belonged to the master, who could take them away from their parents and sell them as he could sell their parents or any other parts of his property. The famous incident of the Englishmen said to have been offered for sale in the Roman market in the days of St. Gregory, shows us that this infamous trade in human flesh was still going on in the sixth century even in the very heart of Italy. Slaves could be worked to death; the only limitations put to their labor were dictated by the whims or interests of the master. In short, slaves were looked upon as so many heads of cattle, that could be bartered or put to death or left to perish in their hovel.

The liberation of the slave mainly the work of the Church

It was mainly through the influence of the Church that poor, suffering humanity once more emerged from this abyss of degradation and misery. The transformation was gradual and a very slow one, because the Church, faithful to her mission of peace, justice and love exerted her influence for a gradual improvement of existing conditions, never for a sudden, violent change which would have brought untold misery to all classes and done perhaps irreparable damage to the cause which she wished to befriend.

Montalembert has admirably set forth this policy of the Church in the matter of slavery. Although he speaks only of the social and political influence of the monks in England, his words apply just as fittingly to the whole clergy everywhere. He says:

Montalembert quoted

"The emancipation or redemption of the slave was the work of charity which they (the monks) most recommended and insisted upon. Thanks to their presence in the political assemblies, provisions were introduced into the laws, freeing the slaves who had been overworked by their masters, or who had been obliged to work on Sunday. And by their presence at the death beds of so many penitent sinners they were able to introduce clauses into the wills, which provided for the souls of the dying by giving freedom

to the survivors. Nothing was more frequent in the Codex Diplomaticus[1] of the Anglo-Saxon period, than acts of manumission[2] and all or almost all stated the religious purpose which produced these acts, and the religious guarantees which sanctioned them. The freed slave was offered to God before the altar and then declared freed, in the presence of the monks and the congregation of the faithful. It was upon the flyleaf of the book of the Gospels, or some other church book, that the charter of affranchisement was registered. The first vindications of individual freedom have come down to us thus, inscribed upon the margin of monastic missals as the first indications of parliamentary government appear in the gifts given to monasteries with the sanction of the assembled Witans.[3] These glorious and persevering apostles of the law of God, neither neglected nor despised any of the rights of man. Honor and justice, humanity and pity, knowledge and reason, were placed along with the new faith and Christian morality under the safeguard of their precepts and unwearied watchfulness."[4]

Serfdom was an immense improvement on slavery, for the serf was no longer a thing but a person. He could not now be sold, although the soil to which he was attached might be transferred with him. The law now recognized his status as a husband and a father. He had a home of his own, with a plot of land which he tilled for his own benefit and that of his family. Part of his time was to be devoted to the service of his lord, part of what he produced might go to his lord's table but the master could no longer claim his person or his family or all of his property.

Social status of the serf

Not all the peasants however were serfs; there were also a few free farmers, owning the land on which they lived and tenant farmers paying rent for the land they held on lease; but these two classes of peasants were on the decrease. The unsettled conditions of the times induced the weak, everywhere, to surrender part of their freedom and become the serfs of some powerful lord in whose castle they would take refuge in time of need.

The free peasantry on the decrease

We must then picture to ourselves, the great bulk of the

1. A collection of laws and decrees.
2. The act of liberating a slave from bondage.
3. The Witans=Wise men forming the national council or Witenagemot.
4. Montalembert (Count de), The Monks of the West, Vol. VI, p. 154.

Economic life in the country

population in early mediaeval days, living in little villages, grouped around some castle or manor or monastery; around the village was the land tilled by its inhabitants. Each family had its own strips of land, distributed in such a way that every household had its share of the fertile and arid soil. The process of cultivation was, of course, still primitive in its character. Each strip of land would be tilled for two successive years and then lie fallow during the next year. The cattle were pastured on the common meadowlands and each family was permitted to take from the neighboring forests the wood they needed for fire and building purposes. Thus each home was a little self producing and self consuming community; they tilled their own land, grew their own corn, baked their own bread, made their own clothing and footwear, and as the case might be made their own cider or wine or beer.

Mediaeval versus present day conditions

The condition of those peasant serfs was not an ideal one to be sure; neither was it as dark as it has been painted by a certain school of historians; certainly it was infinitely better than the condition of the masses before Christianity had achieved her first triumph, better even, in some respects at least, than the lot of the proletariat in our congested cities. Says Prof. Carlton J. H. Hayes:

"On the other hand we must not forget that the tenement houses of our great cities have been crowded in the nineteenth century with people more miserable than ever was serf of the Middle Ages. The serf at any rate, had the open air instead of the factory in which to work. When times were good he had grain and meat in plenty and possibly wine or cider, and he hardly envied the tapestried chambers, the bejewelled clothes and the spiced foods of the nobility, for he looked upon them as belonging to a different world.

In one place nobleman and peasant met on an equal footing—in the village church. Then on Sundays and on feast days they came together as Christians to hear Mass; and afterwards, perhaps holiday games and dancing on the green, benignantly patronized by the lord's family, helped to make the common folk forget their labors. The village priest, himself often of humble origin, though the most learned man on the manor, was at once, the friend and benefactor of the poor and the spiritual director of the lord.

Occasionally, a visit from the bishop to administer confirmation to the children, afforded an opportunity for gaiety and universal festivity."[1]

The passage just quoted gives us a glimpse of a certain aspect of the Church's educative mission, which is seldom insisted upon as it deserves to be. It is but too common to consider her work as limited to instruction, to see her only in the school or pulpit, teaching the great truths proclaimed by Christ. Not only through her teaching, but also through her prayers and Sacraments, her ritual and feast days, through the very buildings where the Faithful assemble to worship God, has the Church educated and continues to educate those intrusted to her guidance and care. Faithful to the example of her Divine Founder she has identified herself with the very life of her fold. She welcomes the child at the very gates of life, watches over his growth and development with the care and interest of the tenderest mother, shares in all his joys and sorrows, and does not even part with him at the gates of death. Though primarily concerned with the salvation of souls, she has ever been anxious to make this world a better place to live in, especially for the poor. Thus in the Middle Ages wherever and whenever it was possible, she brought about the liberation of the serfs just as she had the liberation of the slaves; everywhere she succeeded in bettering their condition, by insisting upon the essential equality of all men before God, upon their common brotherhood as children of a common Father, and by holding before the eyes of the rich and poor alike, the example of Christ and His Saints living the life of a poor man. She stood everywhere as the defender of the rights which had already been granted to the serfs, and was ever ready to take the initiative in the enactment of new legislation that

The Church's educative mission

1. Hayes, C.J., A Political and Social History of Europe, Vol. I, pp. 35, 36.

brought the condition of the serf before the law nearer and nearer to that of the free man.

Industrial education through the monasteries

Alongside with this social uplift, — this religious and moral education of the serf, — went his industrial training, the work chiefly of the monasteries. The modern mind is but too prone to think of a mediaeval monastery as nothing else but a house of retreat, of religious observances, and such a house every monastery was of course intended to be, but in addition it was and had to be a very busy place, not only as a consequence of monastic regulations, but as a matter of necessity. Every monastic community had to be self supporting; it depended for its sustenance on the labor of its members as carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, locksmiths, tillers of the soil, cattle raisers, dairy-men, spinners, weavers, etc. The spirit and explicit teaching of the Gospel no less than their own regulations made it incumbent on the monks to help others both in spiritual and in material matters; they were expected to be not only missionaries, teachers and spiritual advisers, but the protectors of the poor, their trustees and physicians— their helpers in all times. The profits accruing from their labor, were employed for the relief of the needy and the construction of works of public utility. The monastery was a kind of industrial school and model farm where the surrounding population received object lessons in all the useful arts. But the monks did more and better than give industrial instruction and training. By precept and still more by example they dignified and sanctified labor, which in the Roman and in the barbarian world alike had been considered as the lot of slaves, but was now to be conceived as the condition of a well regulated life, as a road to goodness. Had the monks taught no other lesson they would even then deserve our eternal gratitude.

The beginnings of industrial life. The first symptoms of industrial life in the Middle Ages appear in the late

Mediaeval industrial life begins in the eleventh century

eleventh and the early twelfth centuries, as a consequence of the greater security and commercial expansion following the Norman invasions and the first Crusades.[1] Many towns and cities had been plundered and burnt and their population scattered during the invasions. After the storm and with but few exceptions, towns and cities arose from their ruins, new ones were erected, and the population of old and new centers rapidly increased, owing to a steady stream of immigration from the countryside. The causes of this immigration were many, and they varied from one place to another. It might be the protection offered by a strong castle, or the walls of a city, or the immunities attached to monasteries and episcopal sees; it might be the desire to escape the tyranny of some local baron, or the hope of finding city life more congenial and profitable than country life; again it might be the prospect of trade offered by some well located spot on the banks of a river; later the privileges enjoyed by members of city guilds also attracted many men from the country to the city. Naturally the population of these eleventh century towns and cities was far from homogeneous; some families were free, others belonged to the servile class; some were free-holders,[2] others tenants of a baron, or a church or monastery, and if we except a small upper class, their lot was still hard enough. The many and often conflicting jurisdictions under which they lived, were a constant source of annoyance to them and often entailed onerous duties; their trade was subjected to all kinds of arbitrary restrictions and levies; they had no share in the administration of public affairs, in fact they were denied all political rights, and it must be said in truth, that they were as yet unprepared for the intelligent exercise of such rights. What they

1. See chapter VI.
2. Owning the land on which they lived.

needed first of all was a strong and simple organization which would unite and discipline individual forces under common leaders and in a common cause. It was just such an organization that the mediaeval guild proved to be.

Origin of the word guild

The guilds. The word "guild," sometimes and more correctly written "gild," is of Teutonic origin and has a two-fold root meaning, to pay and to sacrifice, which has led some writers to connect the origin of the mediaeval guild with the sacrifices and banquets so common in the old Teutonic tribes, and to trace it back ultimately to the family relationship. In his "Democratic Industry" the Rev. Joseph Husslein, S.J., sums up the theory as follows:

According to some the guilds were of Teutonic origin

> "According to Brentano . . . . gild meant originally a sacrificial meal made up of common contributions, then a social banquet in general and lastly a society. Christianity . . . . had not come to banish the cheer of life but to hallow it. The old feasts were therefore still retained, as paganism gradually disappeared. But Christ was worshipped and His Saints honored in place of the idolatrous homage which had once prevailed. The banquets formerly held in connection with superstitious sacrifices were now opened with Christian prayer. The virtues of the Gospel expelled the vices of the pagan orgies. The Church in fine retained and elevated to a higher degree whatever elements of brotherhood and mutual helpfulness had already existed under the old worship of the fallen gods."[1]

But after all this is but a theory and as the writer just quoted very aptly remarks: "there is no evidence which forces us to accept it. The banquets which were to become a striking feature of the Christian gilds, had already existed in the gilds of Rome and Greece. With a different spirit they reappeared in the love feasts of apostolic days. They were the natural expression of man's social nature."[2]

According to others, of Roman origin

According to another theory, the origin of the mediaeval guilds is to be found in the Roman Collegia opificum or Roman trade unions which existed already in the sixth century B. C. and had become very numerous under the

1. Joseph Husslein, S.J., Democratic Industry, pp. 107-108.
2. Ibid.

emperors. In Rome alone there were in the third century of the Christian era, not less than thirty collegia, four of which,—the bakers, ship masters, swine dealers, and lime burners,—were public corporations and received a fixed salary from the State. Of the private collegia the most important were those of the bankers, wine dealers, physicians, and teachers. Such associations were no doubt very common in the provinces, as is evidenced by many inscriptions, and at times they seem to have been matters of no little concern to the emperors who were ever suspicious of their political activities. Thus we see Trajan remind the younger Pliny, who was then governor of Bythinia, that all societies of craftsmen in that province had degenerated into political clubs.[1]

What interests us here however, is whether or not, these ancient labor organizations were the lineal ancestors of the mediaeval guilds. It is quite natural that the Roman Collegia should have survived a long time in the East, as they actually did, especially in the city of Constantinople; nor is it improbable that these byzantine organizations were the progenitors of the esnafs, as the Turkish guilds are called. Whether or not these Eastern trade-unions exercised any influence on Western labor, through the Mussulmans of Spain or the trading activities of the Italian cities, or the Crusades, is, and probably will ever remain a mooted question. Nor are we in a better position to ascertain the fate of the many guilds which existed in the West at the time of the barbarian invasions. The existence of a guild is mentioned here and there in the early mediaeval documents, but we are not told whether they were new associations or the development of an old organization. The truth of the matter seems to be that the mediaeval guilds were the product, on rich Christian soil,

1. Pliny, Letters, 33, 34.

The guilds a product of Christianity

of the spirit of association which has found expression in a thousand different ways and induced men everywhere to gather together and unite for profit, pleasure, mutual support or even for more dangerous purposes. Pagan institutions, either of Roman or Teutonic origin, may indeed have been instrumental in the establishment of the mediaeval guilds, but they all lacked the one element, which made of these associations the ideal trade-unions that they were at one time, viz. the spirit that raised Gothic cathedrals, built homes for the poor, hospitals for the sick, the spirit that tamed the fierce northern warriors into God fearing men and induced kings and princes to don the humble habit of the monk; the spirit which produced a St. Louis of France and a St. Francis of Assisi.

Guilds mentioned in England for the first time in the seventh century

The first mention of the guilds in England appears in the laws of Ine in the seventh century and again in those of King Alfred two centuries later. They were not free associations nor were they concerned with labor questions. They were associations of free men in any district, established by the law of the land and responsible before the law for the public peace.

on the continent in the eighth century

On the continent the first documentary evidence concerning the guilds dates back from the year 774. In a capitulary[1] of that year we read: "Let no one dare to take the oath by which the people are wont to form guilds. Whatever may be the conditions which have been agreed upon, let no one bind himself by oath to the payment of contributions in case of fire or shipwreck." This prohibition appears several times in the laws enacted by the Carlovingians and also in the decrees of the Councils of the Church, but it should not be taken as expressing opposition of the guilds themselves on the part of the authorities.

1. A name commonly given to the laws enacted under the Frankish kings. Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Legum ii, Capit.

What was aimed at in this legislation, were the oaths, which, it was feared, might lead to conspiracies, as also the idolatrous practices which many of these early guilds had retained. Free guilds of artisans, of the thirteenth century type, were as yet out of the question, although many trades already existed. Charlemagne himself is credited with at least a dozen classes of skilled craftsmen on his various manors: "workmen in gold and silver, blacksmiths, shoemakers, turners, wagon makers, carpenters, armorers, lace makers, soap boilers, brewers and bakers."[1] These tradesmen however were for the most part of servile condition and wherever they organized, it was not through their own initiative but by the will of the lord to whose manor they were attached. The age of free guilds begins with the eleventh century and the first of these free guilds to appear was the "gilda mercatoria" or merchant guild which at this stage and in England especially, was a merchant guild,—in the modern sense of the term,—in name only. More appropriate would be the name of town guild, for it was a town organization in which could be received not only the burgesses or citizens of the town, but also outsiders, people of the surrounding district, or even from the surrounding towns who had been granted the freedom of the gild.

The gilda mercatoria

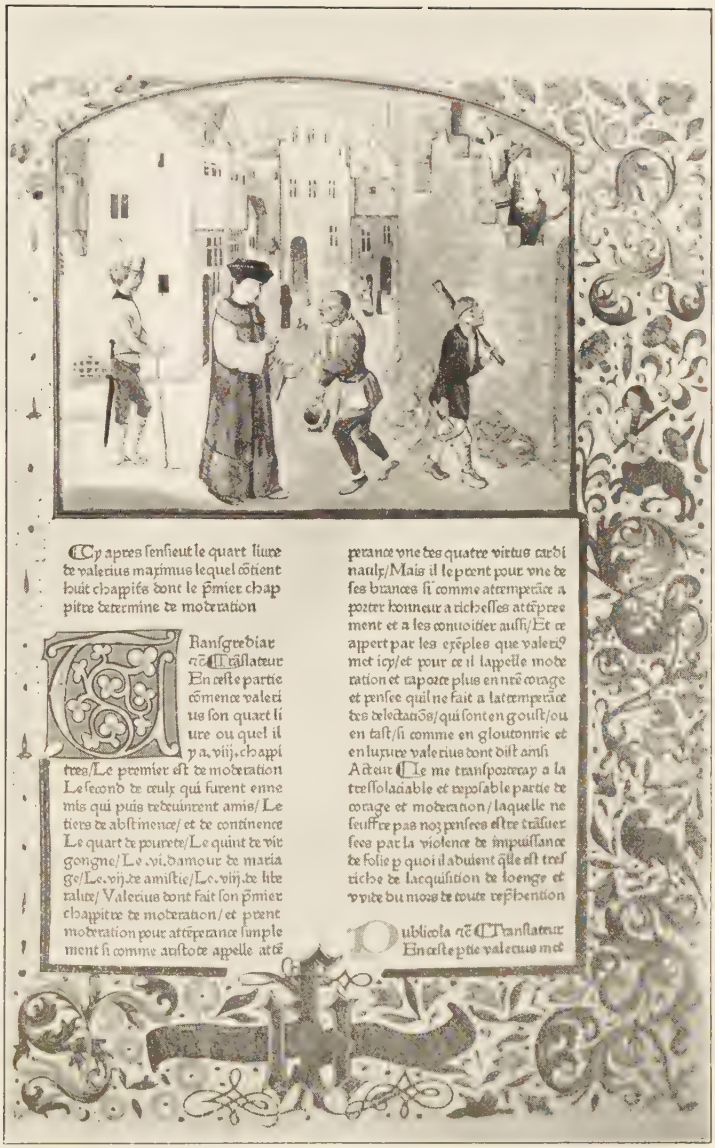
The purpose of the organization was to guarantee to its members the privilege of retailing their own wares and commodities, free from the taxes to which were liable those who did not belong to the guild. Thus weaver, tailor, butcher, fish-monger,, grain merchant, carpenter, blacksmith,—every artisan or tradesman who belonged to the guild, was protected within the town from foreign competition; at the same time they were subject to the guild regulations as to weight, measure, price of commodities, qual-

1. J. Husslein, S.J., Democratic Industry, p. 93.

ity and quantity of raw material; for the aim of the association was not only to protect the interests of its own members, but those of the public as well. In the course of time, with the increase in commerce following the first Crusades, the growth of the population of the cities and the corresponding growth of the various crafts, the latter gradually developed into independent associations: guilds of weavers, of tanners, furriers, metal workers, miners, etc. The original merchant guild became eventually a corporation of merchants in the modern sense of the term. Each one of these guilds had its charter and statutes which both prince and city alike were bound to respect. Each had its fully equipped court of justice and enjoyed practically complete autonomy in internal affairs; each had its patron Saint, its banner and feastday, its place in religious processions and public festivities, and not infrequently, its own hall and altar. At the head of the organization stood one or two masters assisted by a body of councillors and a number of administrative officers. Not infrequently it happened that the guild organization became that of the town or city. Most invariably the guilds were dedicated to the Holy Trinity, or the Blessed Virgin Mary, or some Saint and the very wording of their constitution gives unmistakable evidence of the spirit which prompted them. Each guild had one or more chaplains who were to say Mass for the benefit of the living and dead members of the union and otherwise to minister to their spiritual needs. But the religion of the mediaeval gildsman did not stop there. In the true spirit of the Gospel, religion was conceived by him as the regulative principle of the life of every individual, of the life of the whole community, as the very foundation of that harmonious social cooperation which is so much spoken of to-day under the name of social efficiency.

The guilds religious in spirit and agencies for social efficiency

Prof. William C. Bagley has formulated the require-



Cy apres ensieut le quart liure de valerius maximus lequel cõtient huit chappitres dont le p̃mier chappitre determine de moderation

Transgrediar cõ Translateur En ceste partie cõmence valerius son quart liure ou quel il y a. viij. chappitres/Le premier est de moderation Le second de ceulx qui furent ennemis qui puis redeuinrent amis/ Le tiers de abstimence/ et de continence Le quart de pouretè/Le quint de vitoingne/Le .vi. damour de mariage/Le .vij. de amistie/Le .viij. de liberalitè/ Valerius dont fait son p̃mier chappitre de moderation/et prent moderation pour atẽperance simplement si comme aristote apelle atẽperance vne des quatre vertus cardinales/Mais il le prent pour vne de ses branches si comme attemperãce a porter honneur a richesses atẽpreement et a les conuoitier aussi/Et ce appert par les exẽples que valeri⁹ met icy/et pour ce il lapelle moderation et tapporte plus en nrẽ corage et pensee quil ne fait a latemperãce des delectacõs/qui sont en gouist/ou en tast/si comme en gloutonnie et en luxure valerius dont dist ainsi Acteur Ie me transporteray a la tresplaisable et reposable partie de corage et moderation/laquelle ne seuffre pas nos pensees estre trauiees par la violence de impuissance de folie p quoi il aduient q̃lle est tresriche de lacquisition de loenge et vraie du mors de toute reprehention

Publicola cõ Translateur En ceste ptie valerius met

ments of this social efficiency in the following passage:

"That person only, is socially efficient who is not a drag upon society; who in other words can 'pull his own weight,' either directly as a productive agent or indirectly by guiding, inspiring, or educating others to productive effort. This requires of a socially efficient individual, that he be able to earn his livelihood either in a productive employment or in an employment where his energy will be ultimately if not directly turned into a productive channel. . . . . That man only is socially efficient who in addition to 'pulling his own weight' interferes as little as possible with the efforts of others. This requires of a socially efficient individual that he be moral in at least a negative fashion; that he respects the rights of others, sacrificing his own pleasure when this interferes with the productive efforts of others . . . . .

That man is socially most efficient who not only fulfills these two requirements but also lends his energy consciously and persistently to that further differentiation and integrataion of social forces which everywhere is synonymous with progress. This demands of a socially efficient individual that he be positively moral; that he not only refrain from injuring his fellow workers, but that he contributes to their further advancement."[1]

The simple and sturdy mediaeval burghers had found a golden key for the solution of this problem in the simple Christian formula: "Work and pray; justice and charity to all," which is the keynote of the statutes and life of the mediaeval guilds.

Industrial education. Most worthy of consideration by social welfare worker and educator alike is the mediaeval attitude towards labor. Paganism both civilized and barbarian had considered manual labor as something degrading, as a badge of servitude, and the working classes of to-day consider it but too often as drudgery, from which one should escape at the first opportunity. How different the conception of the mediaeval guilds! Work was conceived by them as something sacred, as something ordained by the Divine wisdom. Thus we read in the book "*A Christian Admonition*":

The guild's attitude towards labor

"Let the societies and brotherhoods so regulate their lives according to Christian love in all things that their work may be blessed. Let us work according to God's law and not for reward,

1. Bagley, W., Educative Process, pp. 62-63.

else shall our labor be without blessing and bring evil on our souls. Men should work for the honour of God, Who has ordained labor as our lot and in order to gain the reward of industry which lies in each one's inner soul. He (the gildsman) should labor in order to gain for himself and for his family the necessaries of life and what will contribute to Christian joy and moreover in order to assist the poor and sick by the fruits of his labor. Thus will the brotherhoods and the trade societies accomplish good. He who acting otherwise, seeks only the pecuniary recompense of his work does ill and his labors are but usury."[1]

The public protected

While the merchant and artisan were granted the rights and privileges which their interests demanded, they were subjected by the guild and the city to regulations which were intended to make fraud well nigh impossible. Honesty in the manufacture and sale of articles was not only considered as a Christian duty but as the best guarantee for material prosperity, for on this honesty rested the good name of guild and city. Heavy penalties were invariably visited upon any dishonest dealing. In addition to the supervision exercised within the trade by the guild officials, the city authorities often intervened in the more important transactions. Thus we see the Flemish cities guarantee the quality of the cloth or linen manufactured within their precincts. City regulations determined the quality of raw material, the processes of weaving and dyeing, the wages of the journeyman and the profits of the master etc. Not until it had been ascertained that it met all the requirements as to size and quality, could any piece of cloth be accepted for sale in the cloth hall. Stringent regulations were made to ward off monopoly of any kind. No individual or group of individuals could control any industry or part of an industry to the detriment of the brethren or of the general public. "The genius of the individual was to manifest itself, not by accumulating a vast fortune and by employing the greatest number of men but by producing the most perfect article for the market. Each

1. Janssen, J., History of the German People, Vol. II, p. 20.

gildsman was to earn an honest living. No one was to monopolize or even partially control any industry."[1] An honest profit for the producer and a fair price for the consumer,—live and let live,—such was the principle upon which was founded mediaeval economic life.

Social welfare

Relief was carefully provided for those who had fallen into poverty, for widows and orphans, for the sick and the aged, when they had no means of support. The extent of the relief was determined not by the cold calculations of an insurance policy but by the dictates of Christian charity, which measures the size of her gifts by the wants of the needy and is not afraid to add a kind word to the gift. In the course of time it also became quite common for a guild to support a school for the benefit of the children of those affiliated with the association.[2]

Apprenticeship

At first men were admitted into the full membership of their guild without having previously served as apprentices under some recognized master; they were accepted upon the recommendation of the guild officials who stood sponsors for the candidate's efficiency in the craft and for his moral character. Gradually however there was establishel everywhere the custom of a time of probation, a kind of novitiate, for the prospective craftsman. The length of the period of apprenticeship varied from one country to another and in the same country from one trade to another. Seven years seems to have been the average length in England and France, in the fourteenth century, while in Germany this period varied from two to seven years.

The youth who aspired to become an apprentice must be born of honest wedlock, because it was thought that the fair name of any prospective master must be without the slightest blemish. The installation of the young aspirant

1. J. Husslein, S.J., Democratic Industry, p. 120.
2. Many of these guild schools in the course of time became burgher schools or town schools.

was surrounded with great solemnity. It took place in the guild hall before the guild officials or even at times in the city hall before the city authorities. The young apprentice promised to "begin his calling in the name of God, to be obedient, faithful, and attentive to his master, and by his moral conduct to render himself worthy of becoming in time a worthy member of the guild and of civil society."[1] The master was to consider his apprentice as a member of his family and treat him as he would one of his own children.

Relations between master and apprentice

He was held responsible to the guild officials and through them to the city authorities for the complete bringing up of his apprentice. He was to maintain him comfortably and decently, to teach him his trade in all fairness and diligence so that the youth might some day earn a good salary. Above all the master must exercise constant watchfulness on the conduct of his apprentice, to see to it that he was faithful in the observance of all his moral and religious duties. On the other hand the apprentice was in duty bound to be respectful, obedient and faithful to his master, to have his honor and interests at heart as he would those of his father, to avoid in speech and conduct anything that might sully his fair name or damage his interests. The book "A Christian Admonition," which has already been referred to, contains an admirable passage on the spirit of these relations between master and apprentice. It reads as follows:

"No trade or profession can succeed honorably unless the apprentice is early taught to fear God and to be obedient to his master as if he were his own father. He must morning and night and during his work beg God's blessing and protection, for without God he can do nothing; no protection of men is of avail without the protection of God; on the contrary it is often even hurtful to the soul. Every Sunday and Holiday he must hear Mass and a sermon and read good books. He must be industrious and seek not his own glory but that of God. The honor of his master and of

1. Huber Liebenau, Das Deutsche Zunftwesen im Mittelalter, p. 23.

Bernward's Guild Hall, Hildesheim, Germany.

his trade he must also seek, for this is holy and he may one day be a master himself if God wills and he is worthy of it . . . . . The master must not be weak-hearted towards the apprentice but neither must he be too tyrannical nor too exacting as often happens. The master shall protect the apprentice from railleries, ear-pullings and abuse from the journeymen . . . . . Masters think of your duties! The apprentice has been entrusted to you by the gild to care for his soul and body according to the laws of God and the corporation. You must account for your apprentice and care for him as if he were your son."[1]

Upon completing his term of apprenticeship, the young man was freed from his obligation to his master, amid great solemnity in the presence of all the members of the corporation, and after master and apprentice had declared that they had no charge to proffer against one another.

The journeyman

He was now a journeyman or companion; he could choose his own master, make his own terms under guild regulations, but he generally continued, for some time at least, in the same relative position towards his master as when apprentice. He lived in his master's house where he received not only board and lodging, but fire, light and washing; his moral conduct like his work was under the supervision of his master, subject to the statutes of the guild. At the same time he became a member of some workmen's guild and he could depend for help and protection upon his co-members in the society. Furthermore the journeyman enjoyed special connection with the Church through the sodality or sodalities of which he was commonly a member.

The master

The day might come when he would open his own shop and become a full fledged member of the guild, but to be a master in his own trade the journeyman must, in addition to financial requirements, produce a masterpiece (chef d'oeuvre,—Meisterstück) after completing the prescribed year or years of traveling.[2]

Such, in brief outline, are the industrial system and in-

1. Janssen, J., History of the German People, Vol. II, p. 20.
2. These years of travel were intended to give the young journeyman a better knowledge of his craft.

dustrial education which, notwithstanding a few drawbacks, gave social rest and social efficiency to Western Europe for several centuries.

Questions for Discussion

1—What traces, if any, of the mediaeval guild remain in the modern industrial system?
2—Contrast mediaeval and present day industrial life.
3—Was the education of the mediaeval craftsman less liberal and efficient because less bookish than that of the modern craftsman?
4—Contrast the Guild School and mediaeval Latin Schools as to aim and content of instruction.
5—What analogy if any is there between the modern club and the mediaeval guild?
6—To what features of modern life does the mediaeval guild correspond?
7—What was the influence of the mediaeval guild in the development of municipal government?

SOURCES

Charities and Records of Mediaeval Towns and Guilds.

REFERENCES

Brentano, L., History and Development of Gilds.
Gross, C., The Gild Merchant.
Hayes, C.J., A Political and Social History of Europe.
Husslein, J., Democratic Industry.
Janssen, J., History of the German People.
Catholic Encyclopedia, art "Guilds."

CHAPTER VIII

SCHOLASTICISM AND MYSTICISM[1]

The origin and development of scholasticism. The term scholasticism is commonly used to designate a system of philosophy and type of education which were the philosophy and education of western Europe from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries; sometimes the term is also applied to the type of intellectual activity involved in this philosophy and education and the period during which both flourished.

Meaning of the term

Scholasticism was a product of the new civilization which arose after the fall of Rome, in the neo-Latin and Germanic world, in Italy, France, Spain, England, Germany, and its origin is to be traced to the Carlovingian revival. We have seen in previous chapters that the subjects taught in the higher schools founded or reorganized by Charlemagne and his successors, were the seven liberal arts: grammar, rhetoric, dialetic, arithmetic geometry, astronomy and music. Of these, grammar and rhetoric were for some time the leading subjects, but gradually they yielded the first place to dialectic. It was out of this teaching of dialetic, around which in the course of time came to be grouped questions of psychology and metaphysics, that scholastic philosophy gradually developed. The head of the school, *magister scholae, schol-*

Origin

1. To try to do full justice to such a subject in a work of this kind is of course out of the question. For a fuller treatment the reader is referred to histories of philosophy. See references at the end of the chapter.

Divisions

asticus, not infrequently was the teacher of this growing system of philosophy, which thus received its name from that of the school official who taught it.[1] From the ninth to the thirteenth century, scholastic philosophy was influenced by Platonism; after the introduction of the works of Aristotle in the thirteenth century it fell more and more under the influence of Aristotelian philosophy. The first period again subdivides into two subperiods, one of beginnings, from the ninth to the eleventh century, and one of growth from the eleventh to the thirteenth century; likewise there are two subdivisions in the second period, one of perfection in the thirteenth century and one of decay in the fourteenth and fifteenth.

A period of beginnings

As stated before the beginnings of scholasticism are to be found in the Carlovingian revival, in the schools founded or reorganized by Charlemagne, Alcuin, and their successors. It is true that the first great teachers of those early times, Alcuin, Fredegis, Rabanus Maurus, show as yet little independence in their teaching of philosophy; they are satisfied with restating in a somewhat abridged form the views of the Fathers of the Church. Like Boethius, Cassiodorus, and Isidore of Seville,[2] they are encyclopedists, preservers of the past rather than innovators. It is to that extent only that their names deserve to be associated with the rise of scholasticism; their work as teachers and writers, forms a transition between Patristic and Scholastic philosophy.

The first great Schoolman was John Scotus Erigena (Eriugena or Jerugena)[3] who has been mentioned already in connection with the Carlovingian revival. According

1. Thus Alcuin had been scholasticus, i.e. head master at York, before he became the head master of the Palace School in Frankland.
2. See chapter IV.
3. Erigena, seems to be the more common form.

John Scotus Erigena

to John Scotus, philosophy and religion are identical in content and object; they differ only in form. Philosophy, says Erigena, explains what religion believes, and this is, in a somewhat exaggerated form, the fundamental tenet of Scholasticism: that there is no antagonism between faith and reason. Erigena's philosophy, as set forth in his "*De Divisione Naturae*" is neo-Platonic in character; it reproduces in Christian form the pantheism of Plotinus;[1] the world is an emanation, an overflow of the divine essence, to be ultimately reabsorbed in God. The first period of Scholasticism may be said to come to a close with the names of Remy (Remigius) of Auxerre (died 904) and with that of Gerbert (950-1003) a monk of the monastery at Aurillac, who went to Spain in order to study mathematics and the physical sciences. He was acknowledged by his contemporaries as a man of extraordinary learning and in 997 became Pope as Sylvester II.

Remigius and Gerbert

The second period of Scholasticism is occupied with the question of "Universals" which may be stated as follows:

The period of growth

Has the idea, the universal, i.e. what modern philosophy calls the generic and specific concept, any reality apart from the mind which conceives it and the particular object or person in which it finds definite and concrete expression? And if the idea has any reality in itself, of what kind is this reality? Such in brief is the problem which occupies Scholasticism for nearly two hundred years. The answers to this question are usually classed under three heads, viz. Nominalism, Realism, and Conceptualism. Nominalism maintains that Universals are mere names, signs designating collections of individuals, abstractions having no objective reality. Realism in its extreme form declares that universals as such are real, nay, according to

Nominalism

1. A pagan philosopher who taught in Rome for about 25 years c. 244-270 A.D., the leading representative of pagan neo-Platonism.

Realism

some, they are the only reality. In its moderate form—that of St. Thomas Aquinas,—realism holds that the genus and species have a reality in the Divine Intelligence, 'universalia ante rem'; they are real in the mind of the thinker, 'universalia post rem'; they are real in the essence of the individual objects, 'universalia in re'. Conceptualism, historically antecedent to moderate realism, was a compromise between nominalism and extreme realism, and thus a step forward towards the correct doctrine of moderate realism.

Conceptualism

Roscelin

The first doctrine was taught in the second half of the eleventh century by Roscelin (Roscelinus) a canon of Compiègne. According to him universals are mere names, *flatus vocis*; only individuals have reality; and applying his nominalism to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity he did not hesitate to declare that the one nature of the Three Divine Persons is universal, ergo—a mere name corresponding to no reality. He was condemned by the Council of Soissons and obliged to retract. The most ardent champions of realism in the controversy aroused by the doctrine of Roscelinus were St. Anselm, the successor of Lanfranc as Abbot of Bec[1] and later as Archbishop of Canterbury, and William of Champeaux, a teacher at Paris and subsequently Bishop of Châlons. The first, sometimes called the second Augustine, is best known for his *"Cur Deus Homo"* an exposition of the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation, and his ontological argument for the existence of God.[2] William was an extreme realist; according to him, universals only have reality, individuals are nothing but 'flatus vocis'.

St. Anselm

William of Champeaux

Abelard, the brilliant pupil of William of Champeaux,

1. In Normandy, one of the most important intellectual centers in the 11th century.
2. For a brief exposition of this argument see Turner, W., History of Philosophy, p. 275.

and the leading dialectician of the twelfth century, is equally opposed to the realism of his master and to the nominalism of Roscelinus. His position is a middle ground between the two extremes of pure realism and nominalism. According to him the universal has no reality apart from the individual object or person; outside of the individual it exists only as a concept. The best known of Abelard's philosophical works is his *"Sic et Non"* in which after formulating the principal theses of theology he states the opinions of the Fathers *pro* and *con*. This method became one of the recognized methods of teaching in the thirteenth century. Other prominent Schoolmen of this period were: Bernard of Chartres, and his two disciples—William of Couches and Gilbert de la Porée ,who made an attempt to reconcile the doctrines of Plato and of Aristotle; the eclectics—John of Salisbury, Peter the Lombard[1] and Alanus of Lille; the mystics,—Hugo, Richard and Walter of St. Victor;[2] the pantheists,—Amaury of Bène and David of Dinant.

Abelard

The third period of Scholasticism begins with the introduction of the works of Aristotle into western Europe. For a long time the Schoolmen had known only part of his Organon, through a Latin translation attributed to Boethius. During the twelfth century they became acquainted with his physical, metaphysical, and ethical writings, through Latin versions from the Hebrew and Arabic.[3] Other translations followed in the course of the thirteenth century, which were made directly from the Greek and thus helped to correct the unfavorable impression made in the Church by the translations from the Arabic and the Arabic

The period of perfection

1. His "Sententiae" were one of the most widely used texts in the study of theology.
2. So called from the abbey of St. Victor at Paris.
3. Chiefly the work of the college of translators founded by Raymond of Toledo c1140.

commentaries appended to these.[1] It became now evident that the philosophy of Aristotle was not antagonistic to Scholasticism and the latter became Peripatetic. This new Peripateticism coincides with the rise of the universities (q.v.) and the foundation of the two great Mendicant Orders,—the Dominicans and the Franciscans, who very early, succeeded in securing chairs at Paris and other universities.

Aristotelian Scholasticism

The name of William of Auvergne, called also William of Paris, may be taken as marking the transition from the twelfth to the thirteenth century, from mediaeval Platonism to mediaeval Peripateticism which he tried to reconcile in his teaching. Aristotelian Scholasticism begins with the Franciscan Alexander of Hales, the first of his Order to teach theology at the great scholastic center on the river Seine. St. Bonaventura, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, to mention only the most famous, continued the Franciscan tradition in the thirteenth century. Among the Dominican masters of the same period, the greatest were Blessed Albertus Magnus, Vincent of Beauvais and St. Thomas Aquinas whose system is the best synthesis of scholastic thought.

The great thirteenth century schoolmen

With St. Thomas, Scholastic Philosophy reaches the zenith of its splendor. After him it began to decline. Instead of turning their attention to the cultivation of science which would have introduced into philosophy an element of progress, the Schoolmen wasted their time and energy, in endless commentaries on the works of some master or in barren discussions concerning the meaning of terms. The last great name of mediaeval Scholasticism was that of William of Occam (1280?-1349) who restated in a modified form the nominalist doctrine which had been silenced

The period of decline

William of Occam

1. Of these new versions the best one and most widely used was that of William of Moerbeka made, it appears, around 1260 at the request of St. Thomas and Pope Urban IV.

St. Thomas Aquinas.
(Fra Carnavale, Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, Milan.)

for three centuries. However by this very nominalist doctrine, he presented the scholastic system in a very dangerously corrupted form.

The nature of Scholasticism. The essence of Scholasticism is a union between faith and reason, theology and philosophy. Faith affirms e.g. "Deus Homo", God became man, and reason asks,—"Cur Deus Homo"? Why did God become man? In order to answer this and similar questions theology forms an alliance with philosophy and it should be remarked here that in so doing, Scholasticism was but continuing the Patristic tradition. From the very beginning, Christian thinkers had been forced by the attacks of the pagan philosophers to face the question of the reconciliation between faith and reason; they had been obliged to philosophize in self defense and almost in spite of themselves. Thus, for example, it is impossible to deny that there are some similarities between the Christian doctrine and the teachings of the Greek sages, especially Plato. How could the Christian account for this similarity, which at times almost amounts to identity? The answer given by the Christian apologists[1] is at once simple and audacious. The wisdom of the Greek philosophers was due to the inspiration of the Logos; it could not be in contradiction with the Christian religion, because it came from the same source; in either case it is God's truth reaching man through two different channels, reason and revelation.

Scholasticism a union between faith and reason

Such in the main is the principle upon which rests Patristic and Scholastic philosophy. Faith aids reason,—*"Credo ut intelligam"*—I believe that I may understand; reason aids faith—*"Intelligo ut credam,"*—I understand, the better to believe.[2] However, there is not a little diversity in the application of the principle. Patristic philo-

the Various applications of principle

1. e.g. Clement of Alexandria and Origen.
2. St. Augustine, before the scholastics, had viewed the relation between faith and reason in the light of the same principles.

sophy, as a whole, has a decided tendency to emphasize the first member of the formula, at the expense of the second,—faith over reason. John Scotus Erigena, and with him those who had pantheistic leanings, go to the extreme of identifying philosophy and theology because both have the same object,—God,—because all wisdom is an overflow of the Divine wisdom, manifesting itself to reason illumined by faith. Abelard and the dialecticians of his time, reach the same conclusion; they too identify philosophy with theology, but they do it by exalting reason at the expense of faith. The principle, that we must understand in order to believe, they interpret in the sense that reason, unaided by faith, can grasp even the mysteries of religion. This extreme rationalism brought on a reaction. Dialectics fell into disfavour and for some time it looked as though scholasticism was doomed before it had attained its full growth and development. But its genuine representatives succeeded in meeting successfully all the attacks of their adversaries, the mystics, and scholasticism came out of the struggle full of vigour and flexibility, ready for the constructive work of the great thirteenth century masters, especially St. Thomas Aquinas. He, it was, more than anybody else, who determined once and for all, the true relation of faith and reason, of theology and philosophy.

St. Thomas' argument

In substance St. Thomas' argument is as follows. God is the source of all truth, whether it be communicated to us directly by revelation, or attained through experience and reason. Both theology and philosophy appeal to reason, in proceeding from principle to consequences, but whereas theology takes revelation as its starting point, philosophy receives its premisses from experience and human understanding. There are truths which belong exclusively to the field of theology, such as the mystery of the Incarnation; they are beyond human comprehension. There are truths which belong both to theology and philosophy, such

as the existence of God and the problem of the destiny of man. There are truths which belong exclusively to the field of philosophy e.g. the laws governing the inorganic world. Theology views truth in the light of Divine revelation,—philosophy in the light of human reason and to that extent they are distinct sciences, but they are and must be in complete harmony inasmuch as all truth is derived from God. It is He who teaches us in philosophy and theology, and it is impossible that he should contradict Himself. Human understanding, to be sure, has its limitations. There is a point, however high it may be, beyond which reason must confess its inability to understand; but it is just at this point that faith comes to the rescue of reason; the mind, in matters of faith, gives its assent to truth upon the authority of God, manifested through revelation, and thus man completes the edifice of his knowledge with the structure of supernatural truth. The realm of faith, then, is not to be conceived in opposition to the realm of natural truth, but as its continuation, for in both reigns supreme the same Divine Intelligence.[1]

The Scholastic method. Thus we see that Scholasticism was a rational movement, in the sense that the Schoolmen upheld the prerogatives of human reason, when at work in its proper sphere. They were not, as it has so often been said, unduly subservient to authority. From the very beginning, while recognizing the authority of revelation, they used their reason in the elucidation of the problems of theology, and they maintained its supremacy in matters purely scientific. Thus in philosophy, an argument is not to be pronounced valid, because it is given by Aristotle or some other master; its validity depends on whether or not it meets the requirements of sound logic. Reason then is the principal means of arriving at truth in the natural

Scholasticism was a rationalistic movement

1. St. Thomas, Summa Theologica and Summa Contra Gentiles, passim.

order and the special method to be used is determined by the character of each particular science; in some we depend mainly on induction; in others on deduction.

The Summa of St. Thomas

A brief outline of the *"Summa Theologica"* of St. Thomas may serve as an illustration of the Scholastic method in theology and philosophy. The author, after explaining the nature and scope of theology or Sacred Doctrine, announces the division of his work in the following words: "Since the chief aim of the Sacred Doctrine is to give the knowledge of God, not only as He is in Himself, but also as He is the Beginning of all things and the End of all, especially of rational creatures we shall treat first of God, secondly of the rational creature's advance towards God, thirdly of Christ Who as Man is the way by which we tend to God." Thus the Summa is divided into three parts, each of which contains three or more subdivisions, leading to special treatises subdivided in turn into questions and these into articles. In all, there are in the whole work, 38 treatises, and 612 questions subdivided into 3120 articles in which about 10,000 objections are proposed and answered. The same systematic, uniform arrangement prevails in the treatment of every article. The topic treated is introduced in the form of an inquiry under the form *Utrum*—whether, as for instance: "Whether besides philosophy any further doctrine is required."[1] After formulating two objections to the thesis, the author gives his own conclusion and then returns separately to the objections which he has formulated. The process of reasoning is both analytic and synthetic, the style is remarkable for its soberness, its clearness, its precision and directness of expression. In this as in other works of Scholasticism the method is altogether dictated by the logic of the subject; it meets the most exacting requirements of scientific presentation, and it seems to be the ideal method of instruction in the university hall

1. Summa Theologica, question i, article 1.

where the master has to deal with mature minds. This method however is open to severe criticism when applied indiscriminately in the lower schools, as became more and more the fashion not only in the days when scholasticism held sway in western education, but for a long time after. Its one capital drawback, in elementary and, to some extent, in secondary schools is that it does not take into consideration the intellectual stage reached by the student.

Other aspects of the educative process

The larger and more vital aspects of the educative process are discussed in a number of treatises by leading mediaeval educators, Hugh of St. Victor, St. Thomas Aquinas, Jean Gerson and Denis the Carthusian among others. Typical of these treatises is that of St. Thomas, *De Magistro, On the Teacher,* which, when we consider it in connection with other questions of the same work, *De Veritate,* forms, in present day educational parlance, a *Philosophy of Education.* It deals with the nature of the educative process, the problem of the acquisition of knowledge, the office and qualifications of the teacher. The whole discussion is conducted in the light of scholastic philosophy and theology and the views expressed show a striking similarity with the conclusions of sound modern educational science. Thus in the opinion of St. Thomas, all knowledge has its starting point in experience, there are no innate cognitions; the mind has an active power of modifying itself and in this self-activity of the mind lies its capacity for growth and development; the teacher should not only be a man of stirling character and a master of the subject which he wishes to teach but he should have an intimate knowledge of all mental processes without which he cannot properly perform his office of assisting in developing the pupil's capacities. "Education is no mere imparting or infusion; it is rather a solicitation, suggestion and direction by which the mind is prompted to exert its natural power in normal ways. While chief stress is laid upon the de-

velopment of intellectual functions, due notice is taken of the subordinate faculties. Sense, imagination and memory cooperate both in the acquisition of knowledge and its retention. Their importance is clearly shown by St. Thomas when he declares that they account for individual differences in mental capacity."[1] While St. Thomas is chiefly concerned with the intellectual aspect of the educative process, others like Denis the Carthusian (1402-1471) and Jean Gerson (1364-1429) are interested in its moral aspect. The latter, at one time chancellor of the Church and University of Paris, is the author of several educational tracts to which his long experience as a teacher and school director lend particular interest and value.[2]

Not limited to logic and theology

The content of Scholasticism. From what precedes one might easily receive the impression that the Schoolmen attended only to logic and theology. It is true that they were intensely interested in theology, but it would be erroneous to believe that they neglected on that account other branches of knowledge. The works of St. Thomas, for instance, encompass, with theology, the whole range of philosophical subjects; the notion of science and the problem of the acquisition of knowledge; logic and psychology; ethics and politics; cosmology, metaphysics, and natural theology. Nor is it true, as some have asserted, that his philosophy merely reproduces and comments upon the doctrines of Aristotle. His original contributions, both in substance and in form, far outweigh what he received from the Stagyrite.

Albertus Magnus a scientist

His master, Blessed Albertus Magnus, was not only an authority on philosophy and theology but a scientist of no mean attainments. He was deeply interested in astronomy, the physics of light, chemistry, geography, botany, and he

1. Pace, St. Thomas' Theory of Education; Catholic University Bulletin, viii, 290-303.

2. Of these the one most commonly associated with his name is that which is entitled "Leading the Little Children to Christ."

made not a few original contributions to these sciences. Humboldt has paid a high tribute to his knowledge of physical geography[1] and it has been said of him as a botanist that "after him none has painted nature in such living colours or studied it so profoundly until the time of Conrad Gesner, and Cesalpini."[2] Greater still in the field of natural science was the Franciscan friar, Roger Bacon who was an ardent advocate of the *scientia experimentalis*, i.e. the principle of observation in the natural sciences, and this, four centuries before his too famous namesake.[3] Roger Bacon made remarkable progress in the study of the theory of lenses, the reflection and refraction of light, the study of the rainbow, the theory of explosives, the errors that had crept into the Julian Calendar. He was not only interested in science as such, but in all its possible applications to useful ends, and his imagination often leads him on to anticipate inventions that were only realized in the last hundred years. Thus he tells us that "Machines for navigating are possible without rowers, so that great ships suited to river or ocean, guided by one man may be borne with greater speed than if they were full of men. Likewise cars may be made, so that without a draught animal, they may be moved, 'cum impetu inaestimabili,' as we deem the scythed chariots to have been, from which antiquity fought. And flying machines are possible, so that a man may sit in the middle turning some sort of device, by which artificial wings may beat the air in the manner of flying birds."[4] All this 600 years before the advent of the steamboat, motorboat, automobile and flying machine!

and Roger Bacon

No less worthy of note than these flights of his scientific imagination, are the causes to which he ascribes ignorance

1. See Walsh, J.J., The Thirteenth Greatest of Centuries, p. 47.
2. Ibid. p. 49.
3. Francis Bacon, 1561-1626.
4. Opus Majus VI.

among men: "reliance on inadequate authority, the tyranny of custom, confidence in the opinion of the ignorant, and the hiding of one's ignorance under a show of wisdom."[1] Commenting on these grounds for ignorance, Henry Morley says: "No part of that ground has yet been cut away from beneath the feet of the students, although six centuries ago the Oxford friar clearly pointed out its character. We still make sheep walks of second, third and fourth and fiftieth hand references to authority; still we are the slaves of habit; still we are found following too frequently the untaught crowd; still we flinch from the wholesome and righteous phrase 'I do not know'; and asquiesce actively in the opinion of others that we know what we appear to know. Substitute honest research, original and independent thought, strict truth in the comparison of only what we really know, with what is really known by others, and the strong redoubt of ignorance has fallen."[2]

This brief reference to the scientific labours of Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon will suffice, it is hoped, to dismiss the oft-repeated charge that the scholastic mind was averse to scientific investigation. That the Middle Ages were deeply interested in the natural sciences and their possible applications to trade and industry, nobody, of course, would seriously contend for to-day, but for that matter the first two centuries of what we call modern times, were just as mediaeval as the Middle ages. On the other hand a glance at the mediaeval course of studies will show that scholastic education made ample provision, according to the knowledge of the time, for scientific information (see Chapter IV); and if we needed further evidence of the scholastic attitude towards the scientific subjects, we would find it in the medieval encyclopedias especially the

1. Ibid. I.
2. See Walsh, op. cit., p. 42.

Speculum Majus of Vincent of Beauvais, a Dominican friar and a friend of St. Thomas and King Louis IX of France. In compiling this most famous of mediaeval encyclopedias, Vincent drew from all available sources, including the works of St. Thomas and Albertus Magnus. The *Speculum Majus* or Great Mirror consists of three parts: the *Speculum Naturale* or *Mirror of Nature;* the *Speculum Doctrinale* or *Mirror of Doctrine,* and the *Speculum Historiale* or *Mirror of History,* to which a fourth part, the *Speculum Morale* or *Mirror of Morals* was added by another hand.

The Speculum Majus

The author's purpose was to place at the disposal of students, lecturers, preachers and theologians a complete, reliable and well arranged compendium of the knowledge possessed by his time; but he had another and higher purpose to which he refers in the following passage of his prologue.

"Verily how great is even the humblest beauty of this world, and how pleasing to the eye of reason, diligently considering not only the modes and numbers and orders of things, so decorously appointed throughout the universe, but also the revolving ages which are ceaselessly uncoiled through abatements and successions, and are marked by the death of what is born. I confess, sinner as I am, with mind befouled in flesh, that I am moved by spiritual sweetness, towards the Creator and Ruler of this world, and honour Him with greater veneration, when I behold at once the magnitude and beauty and permanence of His Creation."

To lead man to God through a better knowledge of His infinite power and wisdom, of His love and mercy for mankind, which are revealed to us not only in the doctrine of the Church but in the whole creation, in history, in every art and science, in every gift which the Divine bounty has bestowed upon man; such is then the higher purpose of the *Speculum Majus* and the principle governing its arrangement. The first part or *Speculum Naturale,* after treating of the Creator, gives a full description of the forms and species of created beings including man. It contains an astounding mass of information on cosmology, geography, physics, mineralogy, zoölogy, botany, physiology, psychol-

ogy. The second part or *Speculum Doctrinale* in addition to the seven liberal arts treats of ethics, politics, economics, the mechanical arts, law and medicine. The third part or *Speculum Historiale* is a history of the world from the time of the Creation down to the middle of the thirteenth century.

Some criticisms of Scholasticism

A brief estimate of Scholasticism. No body of teachers, unless perchance it be the Jesuits, have been subjected to such wholesale criticism (not to say abuse) as the Schoolmen have. According to Hobbes "those who wrote volumes of such stuff (Scholastic philosophy) were mad and tend to make others so." For Bacon, Scholasticism is nothing else than "degenerate learning." In Hallam's opinion the works of the Schoolmen consisted of "worthless mental abstractions, of axioms assumed at haphazard, of distinctions destitute of the smallest foundation and with the horrors of a barbarous terminology."[1] The list of quotations might be continued ad nauseam but these few will answer our purpose. The last one may be taken as typical of the more moderate form of modern criticism, in expressing the more common and more serious attacks against the Schoolmen. The charges it contains are four: the scholastic terminology is barbarous and by implication, so is the scholastic style; the Schoolmen were too fond of logical distinctions; their discussions turned around worthless abstractions i.e. unrealities. Let it be said at once that these criticisms have some foundation in fact when restricted to some period of Scholasticism or some of its representatives; they become shallow when aimed at the scholastic movement as a whole. It is true that the scholastic style is not as a whole remarkable for its elegance, but considering the requirements of the subjects treated, one may wonder if the scholastic form was not after all

1. See Monroe, P., Text-Book in the History of Education, pp. 307-308.

the best one in the case; at any rate Scholasticism holds no monopoly in the matter; it shares the distinction with many modern works on philosophy not to speak of the natural sciences, and the prose of the Schoolmen has a power and precision which will always be studied with profit. The criticism against the scholastic terminology would be just as valid against the terminology of any modern science; not finding in classical Latin the terms they needed, the Schoolmen were obliged to coin them and this they did in all simplicity and with remarkable accuracy. The criticism against the importance attached to logic by the Schoolmen fails, it is feared, to appraise the real value of logic as a means of mental discipline i.e. as Saintsbury remarks: "Its far reaching educative influence, in mere language, in mere system of arrangement and expression." And in order to make perfectly clear what he means by this educative influence, the same writer does not hesitate to add: "If at the outset of the career of modern languages man had thought with the looseness of modern thought, had indulged in the haphazard slovenliness of modern logic, had popularized theology and had vulgarized rhetoric as we have seen both popularized and vulgarized since, we should indeed have been in an evil case."[1] As to the criticism concerning the "unrealities" discussed by the Schoolmen, its validity evidently depends on the meaning one attaches to the term reality. If by reality we are to understand what ministers to our material needs and comforts, then indeed it must be admitted that the scholastic discussions are wanting in reality; they revolve for the most part around such subjects as the nature of man, his origin, his destiny, his relation to his Creator and his fellowmen. But surely topics like these are no less real, no less vital to social welfare and man's happiness, than problems of

1. Quoted by Walsh, J.J., The Thirteenth Greatest of Centuries, p. 223.

mechanics or economics. At any rate this question, in so far, at least, as Christianity is concerned, is no longer a mooted one; it was answered in unmistakeable terms, some nineteen hundred years ago. "Not in bread alone doth man live, but in every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God."[1]

Scholastic contributions to civilization

Like all things human, mediaeval Scholasticism had its defects which ultimately led to its decay in the fifteenth century. As a system of philosophy it failed to keep apace with the progress of science; as a type of education it neglected physical training and aesthetic appreciation in the study of the classics; it overemphasized the importance of erudition and ultimately fell out of touch with the needs of the time. But with all its failings and shortcomings it contributed its own good share to western civilization. It kept alive and quickened the interest in things intellectual; it built up a splendid system of philosophy and raised theology to the dignity of a science; it gave to generation after generation of students the most vigorous and thorough intellectual training, the world has ever seen; it was responsible, at least in the North of Europe, for the rise of Universities, and it made possible everywhere the Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Meaning of the term

Mysticism and its education. The root meaning of the term mysticism conveys a notion of mystery, of something hidden from the many and accessible only to the initiated. In religion and philosophy, the term expresses to-day a desire, on the part of the human soul, of realizing in this life a close union with the Divine Essence; it also means a system of philosophy growing out of this desire, or a body of practices and experiences having for their object such a union with the Divinity. Sometimes too the term is applied to that tendency which looks for symbolic, hidden

1. Matt. IV, 4.

meanings in natural phenonoma. This last conception of mysticism would perhaps more properly be termed symbolism. It had some noisy, if not very influential exponents in the literature of the second half of the nineteenth century.[1] Froebel is perhaps its best representative in the field of education.[2]

Pagan mysticism

Mysticism has played an important part both in the religious and philosophical life of the East; it was the inspiration of ancient Egyptian symbolism; it is a fundamental element in the system of Laotze the first Chinese philosopher; it determines the highest goal in life for the Brahmin and the Buddhist. In the West, mysticism is, comparatively speaking, of recent origin. The first signs of its influence on Greek thought appear in Plato's doctrine of the world of Ideas and his advocacy of the life of contemplation. Philo of Judea[3] and especially Plotinus[4] may be considered its leading representatives in Alexandrian Greek philosophy. According to the latter the goal of human life and philosophy is the mystical reabsorption of the human soul into the Divine Essence, through a series of mystical experiences. Traces of mysticism appear in some early Christian heresies, especially Gnosticism,[5] and the principles of its orthodox conception are laid down in the ascetical and exegetical writings of the Fathers of the Church, but its most systematic exposition in early Christian literature is to be found in the writings of Pseudo Dionysius,[6] who reproduced the doctrines of Neo-Platonism

1. The Decadents and Symbolists so-called. See Lanson, G., Histoire de la Littérature Française, p. 1129.
2. Froebel, F., The Education of Man.
3. An Alexandrian Jew of the first century after Christ.
4. See p. 163.
5. See Turner, W., History of Philosophy, p. 219; Cath. Encyc., art, Gnosticism.
6. See Turner, W., op. cit. p. 223.

Origin and growth of mediaeval mysticism

in a form compatible with the doctrines of the Church. His works translated by John Scotus Erigena had a deep influence on mediaeval thought. However it was not until the twelfth century that a Christian Mystic School appeared as a reaction against the rationalism of Berenger, Roscelin and Abelard. Its best known representatives were St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Hugo, Richard, and Walter of St. Victor in the twelfth century, St. Bonaventura in the thirteenth, John Ruysbroek, Gerhard Groot, Thomas a Kempis, John Gerson and Denis the Carthusian in the fourteenth.[1] While the general scholastic tendency was to emphasize reason, and this perhaps at the expense of the emotions and the will, the mystics showed a decided leaning towards the latter. They believed that it is chiefly through the will and the emotions, aided and supported by Divine grace, that the human soul is united with God in contemplation and love. The manner in which this union is realized is the subject of a body of principles and practices, of which it now remains to give a brief presentation.

Mysticism and asceticism

Christian mysticism is concerned with a union of the human soul with God in this life; it is the last and highest stage in the spiritual life and it bears a close relation to asceticism, though the two should not be identified. One can be an ascetic without being a mystic, but genuine mysticism could not easily be conceived independently of asceticism. According to its Greek origin the latter means primarily practice, exercise, the training and disciplining of the athlete in preparation for the contest of the arena, and the winning of the victor's crown. Christian asceticism, which quite commonly but wrongly is identified with extreme austerity and religious fanaticism, is nothing else than a practice of all the Christian virtues; it is

1. See Turner, W., History of Philosophy, ch. XXXV, XLVI.

nothing else than the following of Christ. Its aim is union with God, effected through love manifesting itself in action. Love of God may be expressed by keeping the commandments, or it may be expressed by following the evangelical counsels, but whereas all alike must obey the commandments, the same obligation does not apply to the counsels. They are means of Christian perfection which we are advised, but not obliged to use. They become binding rules of conduct only for those who enter into the religious state. This, however, does not mean that the road to perfection is closed to those who have not taken religious vows. The lives of the Saints amply show that asceticism and high Christian perfection are not incompatible with life in the world. There are even to-day thousands of ascetics not only among priests and religious but in every walk of life, among the poor and the wealthy, the ignorant and the highly educated. He is an ascetic, whatever be his position, who is doing his utmost to live a Christian life, who uses his talents, or his wealth, or his power not to further his own interests, but to do the will of God, Whom he desires to please in everything and with Whom he desires to be united in eternal happiness. Christian asceticism does not then consist in prayer or work, or mortification as such. Men pray to obtain temporal favours; they work and even practice mortification to gain riches, or power, or fame. Asceticism and all that it implies,—prayer, labor, mortification, self-denial, suffering,—is Christian only in so far as it is a means of achieving the purpose of Christian life: the will of God in this world and eternal happiness with Him in the next.

The relation between mysticism and asceticism consists in this, that the latter may be practiced as a preparation for the contemplation of the Divine truth, which is the goal of the mystic and differs in at least two essentials from the scientific investigation of such truth. In the first

The goal of the mystic

place mystical contemplation is not an attempt to comprehend the Infinite by means of analogies borrowed from the world of finite beings, but an actual union with God, a direct intuition, a "loving gaze" of His attributes. In the second place, in his desire to be acquainted with the Divine truth, the mystic does not rely on his own powers, but on supernatural means, special graces from God which he seeks to obtain through prayer and the practice of the virtues which fits his soul for the reception of God's special favours.

and the three stages of the mystical life and education

Contemplation, of which mystical writings distinguish several types, is the highest stage in the mystical life. It is preceded and prepared by two other stages, the purgative and the illuminative, and the three stages, purgation, illumination, and contemplation or union, correspond to the three classes into which are divided those who strive after Christian perfection: the beginners, the advanced and the perfect. In the purgative stage, through prayer, mortification, and self-denial the appetites and the passions are brought into subjection; material, worldly interests are eliminated and thus are removed the chief obstacles to progress in the mystical life. In the illuminative stage, when the mist of the passions has been lifted and the soul has been detached of its temporal cares, good works in imitation of Christ are insisted upon and the whole psychical life is concentrated around religious ideas. Considered from the viewpoint of knowledge and thought, the stages through which the soul passes in its progress towards union with God are clearly formulated by Hugh of St. Victor, the leader of the mystic school of St. Victor. According to him knowledge is but a preliminary, a sort of stepping stone towards mystical life which progresses through thought, meditation and contemplation. Thought or the "eye of the flesh" seeks God in the material world; meditation or the "eye of reason" discovers Him in the

soul itself; through the "eye of contemplation" we are united with God in supernatural intuition. These three stages are clearly indicated and explained by Hugh of St. Victor in his *"Eruditionis didascalicae"*[1] which seems to have been written as a protest against the narrow educational views of the dialecticians of his time. Hugh deprecates the early and undue emphasis placed on logic by the followers of Abelard; he points out the unity of all knowledge and mutual relationship of all its branches and he insists on the necessity of studying the other branches of the arts course as a preparation for the study of philosophy and theology. His treatise is one of the best by a mediaeval educationist.

Questions for Discussion

1—What are the educational values of the study of logic. Show the bearing that study may have on the preparation for any of the professions.
2—Is it true, as it has often been asserted, that the problem of universals is a barren speculation?
3—What are the ethical aspects of the question of universals?
4—What are the psychological aspects of the same question?
5—What is the relative importance of philosophy in mediaeval and modern schools. Account for the difference if any.
6—Does scholastic philosophy still figure in the modern course of studies? To what extent?
7—Explain the relation between the rise of Scholasticism and the rise of the universities.
8—Describe and account for the influence on Scholasticism of Jewish and Saracen learning.
9—Contrast and comment on the educational views of the dialecticians and mystics in the twelfth century.
10—Contrast the scholastic and modern educational content.

Sources

The Works of the Scholastics and Mystics.
Migne, Patrologia Latina.
Baeumker, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters.

1. "Eruditionis didascalicae libri septem." Migne, Pat. Lat. CI, XXVI, 759.

REFERENCES

De Wulf, A., Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale.
Drane, A., Christian Schools and Scholars.
Turner, W., History of Philosophy.
Stöckl, A., Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters.
Weber, A., History of Philosophy gives on pp. 9, 10, an exhaustive bibliography on the subject.

CHAPTER IX

MEDIAEVAL UNIVERSITIES

Their origin. With one exception the early mediaeval universities originated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; they were an outgrowth of earlier institutions, the fame of which, through the teaching of some great master had reached beyond the confines of the local district and attracted students from all parts. Salerno had the distinction of being the first of these early mediaeval universities, though it was never organized into a chartered institution. As early as the tenth century, the city was well known in Europe for the study and practice of medicine, but the beginning of its university dates back from the second half of the eleventh century; it is associated with the name of Constantine the African (Constantinus Africanus) a translator of Greek medical works, whose lectures on medicine drew many students to the city, and who afterwards became a monk at Monte Cassino. The fame of the school was spread abroad in Europe by the knights returning from the first Crusade. Though the position of Salerno in the field of medicine was quite as unique and important as that of Bologna in law, and Paris in theology, its influence on the development of other universities was entirely negligible and by the thirteenth century its fame as a school of medicine had passed to Montpellier in Southern France.

Salerno

Mention has been made in a previous chapter of the mediaeval relations between law and literature.[1] Since

1. Chapter IV, The Liberal Arts.

all the law texts were in Latin and all business transactions of any importance had to be carried on in that language, the study of grammar and rhetoric must include on its practical side the study of law Latin and the forms to be used in the writing of letters, decrees, bulls and proclamations. This was especially true of Northern Italy where the old Roman municipal life and legal traditions had survived all the invasions, and a new and vital interest in the Roman law had grown up in the struggle between the Lombard cities and the German emperors. Both sides in support of their claims, appealed to the authority of the legal literature of ancient Rome.[1] Out of this interest in Roman law there grew up schools for the study of law in several Italian cities, amongst them Bologna, which at that time had already gained some repute as a school of arts. The Bologna law school was made famous by the lectures of Irnerius (1067-1138) on the Justinian code, and those of Gratian (12th century)[2] on Canon law. The university of Paris had a similar origin, though there the interest was not in law but in dialectic and theology. At the beginning of the twelfth century there were at Paris three great churches, more or less famous for their schools of arts: the Cathedral, the collegiate Church of St. Geneviève, and that of the famous Canons Regular of St. Victor; there was nothing however in the importance or organization of these schools to distinguish them from other famous schools of the same type. But when the lectures of William of Champeaux and Abelard, on philosophy and theology, attracted great crowds of students to the Cathedral and St. Geneviève' schools, there arose a novel situation both as to curriculum and attendance; to the traditional liberal arts course had been added a new

Bologna

Paris

1. See Chapter VI, Revival of Study of Roman Law.
2. Ibid.

subject important enough to claim the attention of the students for a number of years, and there was a great concourse of teachers and taught demanding a new organization. The University of Paris was the outcome of these new conditions. Some of the early mediaeval universities had their origin in a migration of masters and students from some great university, due to political rivalry between towns or countries, or encroachment by the local authorities upon the privileges of the schools. Thus the rise of Oxford may be traced to the exodus from Paris of the English masters and scholars, during the quarrel between Louis VII and Henry II; that of Cambridge to the migration of a number of scholars and masters from Oxford in 1209 during the quarrel between Pope Innocent III and King John and to another migration from Paris in 1229; that of Padua, to a migration from Bologna circa 1222; that of Vercelli to a migration from Padua in or a little after 1228. In a subsequent period, universities came to be founded outright by papal bulls or imperial edict or a royal charter. Thus Naples was founded by an imperial edict in 1224 and Pavia in 1361; Lerida and Huesca, by a royal charter in 1300 and 1359 respectively; by far the greatest number of foundations was by papal bulls, the reason being that the Pope's authority alone could attach to a University diploma, the "*jus ubique docendi*" or privilege of teaching anywhere in Christendom. In 1200 there were only six universities, Salerno, Bologna and Reggio in Italy; Paris and Montpellier in France; and Oxford in England; at the beginning of the fourteenth century, seventeen more had been founded, and by 1500, immediately before the Protestant Reformation, there were not less than eighty, scattered through Catholic Europe.[1]

Migrations of masters and students

Oxford and Cambridge

Later foundations

Number of Universities in 1500

Studium and *scholae* were the words used at first to de-

1. Many more of course were founded after 1500. Harvard was founded as a college in 1636.

Name of early universities

note a mediaeval university; later on *studium generale* became the common usage but the term did not mean an institution where all subjects were taught. As a matter of fact, very few mediaeval universities, even when fully developed, possessed all the higher faculties. A *studium generale* was a higher institution of learning possessing at least one of the higher faculties and receiving students from all parts. *Universitas,* whence our modern university, though sometimes meaning a *studium generale* was not at first restricted to that use. It simply meant a whole group of individuals, and it was applied indiscriminately to any corporate body of persons. Thus e.g. the Pope addressing the faithful of a diocese or the subjects of a kingdom, or the members of a guild or monastic community might use the phrase "*universitas vestra*" meaning "*all of you.*" When referring to a *studium generale*, the word universitas was never used alone; "*universitas magistrorum*" or "*universitas scholarium,*" or both combined, was the phrase used. Thus we read in a papal document of 1205 "Universis magistris et scholaribus Parisiensibus" i.e. "To the corporation of masters and scholars at Paris."

Similarity with guild organization

Their organization. In chapter VII we treated at some length the great mediaeval movement towards association, which resulted everywhere in the formation of various kinds of guilds; guilds of burghers in the same town, guilds of men engaged in the same crafts, guilds of journeymen, of merchants, of actors and artists, military and religious guilds. The mediaeval universities were at bottom nothing else than another expression of this tendency; they were guilds of masters, or students, or both, associations of like minded men engaged in the same pursuits, sharing in the same responsibilities, having the same interests at stake, united and organized in order to defend their common interests and to secure recognition of their association as a corporate body, with definite rights and

privileges. Further analogy between the mediaeval university and the mediaeval guild, especially the craft guild, is to be found in the system of apprenticeship, leading in both, to the stage of the journeyman or candidacy for mastership, and culminating in the granting of the license to teach or practice the craft after a final examination before the masters of the association. Students naturally grouped themselves according to the nation from which they came. Each nation elected one or more councillors or procurators entrusted with the interests of the student body. The number of nations varied, of course according to the time and place. At Bologna there were at one time, two distinct but closely allied organizations of students, the citramontane and ultramontane universities, each made up of a number of nations, three in the first and fourteen in the second. The bulk of the constituency at Bologna was composed of law students, who had already completed the arts course, and many of whom were already advanced in manhood. This fact partly accounts for a very peculiar feature of the Bologna organization and that of the universities which were modelled after it. The control of university affairs was in the hands of a student council; they determined the fees to be collected from the students, the salaries to be paid to the professors, the conditions preceding and leading to graduation, the time when lectures should begin and end, etc. In the northern universities on the other hand, where by far the greatest number of students were young men, still in the arts course, the control of the university was in the hands of the Masters. At Paris, there were four nations: French, Normans, Picards and English; Orléans had ten nations, France, Germany, Lorraine, Burgundy, Champagne, Normandy, Touraine, Guyenne, and Scotland. Nations again were often subdivided into tribes; the French nation at Paris had five: Paris, Sens, Rheins, Tours and Bourges.

The nations in the south

in the north

The organization just described had to do with the general administration of the university, its relations with the town and the ecclesiastical authorities, questions of fees, rents, conduct and discipline. On the purely scholastic side the organization was by faculties. This term was at first just as indefinite as the word university; it meant a subject of study and it was only by degrees that it came to designate the corporate body of men teaching a given subject. By the thirteenth century, there had developed four distinct faculties: arts, law, medicine and theology. The course in arts was preparatory to the other university courses and an expansion of the old seven liberal arts course given in monastic and cathedral schools. Law developed into a university subject at Bologna: it included civil and canon law, but the two branches were not necessarily taught in the same place. The teaching of medicine as a separate subject originated at Salerno and Montpellier, while that of theology began at Paris. Practically all universities offered the course in arts but none of them at first possessed all the higher faculties. Bologna did not add medicine and theology to its faculty of law until the fourteenth century; the teaching at Paris was for a long time limited to arts and theology, with some instruction in canon law; Montpellier began as a school of medicine in the twelfth century; arts and law were added in the thirteenth century. Each faculty elected a dean and the deans together with the council or procurators of the nations elected the rector or head of the whole university who in the south was not uncommonly a student. The Church was represented in the university by the chancellor, the representative of the local ecclesiastical authority. For a time he was the real head of the university; he alone had the right to grant the license to teach. Gradually however his powers passed into the hands of the rector and his position in the university became honorary.

Faculties

The rector

PROFESSOR LECTURING IN COLLÈGE DE NAVARRE.
(Below him sits the mace bearer of the university)

There remains to explain another feature of the mediaeval university organization viz. the college. Originally the colleges were *hospitia* or halls, usually endowed, providing board and lodging for poor students, who, in the beginning at least were allowed to manage their own affairs, if not too young. It was only gradually that *hospitia* developed into academic institutions and became integral parts of the university organization. The houses maintained at the universities by the religious orders became monastic colleges. College foundations were usually made for some particular class of students, grammar school boys, or artists,[1] or canonists or theologians. Sometimes however they were intended for several classes. Such for instance was the case at the college of Navarre founded by Joan of Navarre, the queen of Philip the Fair. According to the intention of the founder there were to be ". . . twenty students in Grammar with a weekly allowance of four solidi, thirty in Arts with six solidi a week, twenty in Theology with eight solidi. Each class of students was presided over by a master whose salary was fixed at double the allowance of a scholar of his faculty. The master of the theologians was rector or grand master of the whole college. Each class of students had its separate hall, kitchen and dormitory; they met only in the chapel for the service of which four chaplains and four clerks were appointed."[1] One of the most famous mediaeval colleges was that founded about 1257 by Robert de Sorbon the chaplain of St. Louis, who contributed very generously to its endowment. It was a college for men who had already taken the degree of Master of Arts and were desirous to take up the course in theology. From a

Colleges

1. Students in the Faculty of Art.
2. Rashdall, M., The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, Vol. I, Colleges.

modest institution designed for sixteen poor students the Sorbonne grew to be the leading European college and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries its name was applied to the whole faculty of theology. In addition to the Sorbonne there were founded at Paris at least 66 colleges before 1500 according to the list published by Rashdall, and according to the same author Oxford had eleven, Cambridge thirteen secular colleges. The organization of the western universities was completed by the fourteenth century and such it practically remained until the end of the eighteenth. The only important change which took place in these four hundred years was in the method of appointing the university officials. To the mediaeval democratic appointment by election there was gradually substituted appointment by the government.

Privileges and Immunities. The first grant of privileges and immunities to masters and scholars of the *studia generalia*, dates from 1158. It was made by Frederic Barbarossa,[1] originally it seems, for the benefit of Bologna students, but was extended to all masters and students traveling to and from seats of learning. Its most important provisions granted to students the right "to summon their accusers to appear before their professors or the bishops of the city."[2] This document was followed by many others of the same kind. Paris received its first charter from Philip Augustus in 1200; Oxford in 1214 from a papal legate. The spirit which dictated the grant of special privileges to masters and students was not always one of disinterested love of learning. The possession of a *studium generale* was in itself a very valuable asset to a city or even a nation and it was not uncommon for cities and states to make a bid for the presence of students and masters by very generous grants. In general the privileges conferred

1. Frederic I of the Holy Roman Empire.
2. Monumenta Germaniae Historica; Legum II, p. 114.

upon university masters and students were those which had belonged to the teaching class in the Roman Empire and had been extended to the clergy by the Christian emperors. They were exemptions from taxation, from military service and official service; the privilege of internal jurisdiction or the right for the university to try its own members, which meant not only masters and scholars, but all their attendants, beadles, librarians, scribes, preparers of parchment etc., for all those who were in any way connected with the university had the benefit of its privileges. Another right enjoyed by the universities was that of *cessatio* or of stopping lectures and going on "strike" when its privileges had been infringed and redress from the grievance could not be had otherwise. Sometimes as a consequence of such a strike it would happen that all or part of a university moved to some other city as at Oxford in 1209 and Paris in 1229. A very remarkable example of such migrations is that of Vercelli. In 1228 that city entered into a contract with emissaries of the student body at Padua and granted them the most liberal terms as an inducement to migrate to Vercelli. Rashdall thus relates the contract:

Privileges of the clergy

Cessation

Vercelli

"Vercelli agreed to make over to the students, five hundred of the best houses in the place and more if necessary. . . . . It was provided that the rent of each house should not exceed 19 librae papienses and should be fixed by taxors representing the university and the city. The city further agrees to lend ten thousand librae to scholars at a fixed rate of interest, to secure a due supply of provisions and to provide competent salaries for one theologian, three civilians, four canonists, two doctors of medicine, two dialecticians and two grammarians, the masters to be elected by the rectors and to be compelled to teach gratuitously. The Commune further undertakes to send messengers to announce the establishment of the *studium* in all parts of Italy, to provide two copyists (exemplatores) who shall transcribe books for the scholars at a rate to be fixed by the rectors and to grant certain immunities from taxation. The civil jurisdiction of the rectors is

recognized, the criminal jurisdiction being reserved to the town magistrates."[1]

Degrees. The most important of university privileges, however, was the right to confer a diploma or license to teach, which was granted after the satisfactory completion of the course and a final examination. As pointed out before, the academic career of the prospective master of arts, or doctor of medicine or law or theology bore a striking resemblance to the preparation for knighthood or full membership in some trade guild. The university student was first and for a number of years an apprentice in arts, then a journeyman, and then a master. The sole academic requirement for admission was a reading knowledge of Latin; this knowledge was indispensable since Latin was the language of the textbooks and classroom, and it was acquired through the study of the first liberal art, grammar, in some monastic or cathedral school. After several years of study under a master in the arts course, the student was allowed to take an examination before other masters than his own. If he gave evidence of his ability to *define* and *determine*, i.e. ability to read and explain the common Latin text in grammar, rhetoric and dialectic, he was admitted into the next stage of his academic career, that of a journeyman or companion. In the fourteenth century he came to be known at this stage as a baccalaureus or beginner, one who had completed the stage of preparation for the course leading to a degree. The baccalaureate did not become a separate degree until a later period. The baccalaureus or bachelor was no longer tied to a single master; like the journeyman in the trade he was free to go from one master to another, and while pursuing his studies, he assisted in the instruction of the younger students. When he had completed the required number of courses

1. Rashdall, H., The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, Vol. II, p. 12.

in the Arts department he was permitted to submit his masterpiece i.e. to defend a public thesis before a jury of masters and against all comers. If he emerged victorious from the ordeal he became a full-fledged member of the guild of masters.[1] He could now set up his chair and teach the arts subjects and he was entitled to all the rights and privileges of his profession. If he coveted one of the higher degrees he matriculated in one of the professional faculties and after a period of study which varied according to place and faculty he eventually received the degree of Doctor in Theology, Law, or Medicine.

Nature of the instruction. The statutes of the mediaeval university show that after the middle of the thirteenth century Aristotle came to dominate in the faculty of Arts. Grammar, mathematics, astronomy and music still figured in the requirements for the A.B. and the A.M. degrees, but the greater part of the student's time was devoted to the study of the Master's works, his logic, his moral and natural philosophy and his metaphysics.[2] The tendency everywhere was to leave more and more the teaching of the old arts subjects to secondary schools[3] and thus to reduce the length of the university course in arts.[4] In the faculty of law the textbooks used were the Corpus Juris Civilis of Justinian in civil and the Decretum of Gratian in canon law. In the faculty of medicine the standard

In arts

In law

1. He might be known as master, or doctor, or licenciate, or professor; all these terms were at first used as synonyms. The differentiation between these names belongs to a later stage in the evolution of the university.

2. The statutes of 1254 at Paris prescribed the following subjects for the A. M. degree: old and new logic, moral and natural philosophy, metaphysics, grammar, "on causes," and the six principles of Gilbert de la Porrée, altogether 27 books all of which of Aristotle with the exception of seven. (Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, Vol. I, p. 119).

3. The number of such schools increased rapidly after the fourteenth century.

4. Eventually the length of the arts course came to be reduced from seven to four years the actual length of the college course.

texts were the works of Hippocrates[1] and Galen,[2] but there were also used other texts of Jewish and Saracen origin.[3] While it is true that in this as in the other faculties there was much emphasis on book study and too much importance attached to a few texts, the practical side of medical instruction was not lost sight of, at least in the leading medical schools. Thus at Montpellier the senior students were to spend several months in visiting and attending to the sick in order to qualify for their Doctor's degree. In the theological faculty, in addition to the Holy Scriptures, the texts used were the Summa Theologiae of St. Thomas and the Sententiae of Peter the Lombard. The latter were arranged much after the plan of the *"Sic et Non"* of Abelard i.e. after stating the proposition and the arguments *pro* and *con* adduced from the Scriptures and the Fathers, the author drew his conclusions.

In medicine

In theology

The method of instruction. The method of instruction was twofold: lecture by the master and disputation among the students. In addition to the text, the professor used a gloss which was a commentary on the text, a collection of explanatory notes, objections to the propositions contained in the text, arguments *pro* and *con*, cross references, all of which forming a real book by itself often larger than the textbook. The prohibitive price of text books made them for a long time out of the question for students and even after they had become more common, they were not owned by many. All instruction was in Latin. The master read from his text, repeating if necessary, then he

1. Hippocrates of Cos (c. 460-367 B.C.) sometimes called the Father of medicine, one of the first to base the healing art on careful observation and scientific principles.
2. Galen (131-201 A.D.) wrote extensively in Greek, on literature, philosophy and medicine.
3. Of these those of Avicenna (980-1037) were the most widely used.

A DISPUTATION BETWEEN LAW STUDENTS.

analyzed the proposition, stated the objections and the arguments *pro* and *con* which could be adduced from the nature of the question, the Scriptures, the Fathers of the Church or other authorities and finally stated his own conclusion. The students listened to the master's "reading" and took notes if they could. The work of the master in the lecture hall was supplemented by disputations or logical contests among the students, not unlike our modern debates. The students took sides on the question under consideration, stated their arguments, cited authorities, criticised their opponents' arguments, summarized the whole discussion. These intellectual tournaments were given at times with great solemnity in the presence of the whole professorial corps, State and Church officials. These disputations were a powerful incentive no doubt towards personal investigation and independent thinking. Students were also required by the university statutes to argue both sides of a question, citing their authorities and stating their conclusions much as the master did in the lecture hall. Aside from the building and class rooms the whole equipment of the mediaeval universities consisted only of libraries, and such it practically remained until well into the nineteenth century.

Value and influence of the mediaeval universities. The following extracts are taken from the concluding paragraphs of Rashdall's "Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages" on which the present chapter is chiefly based. Reservations being made concerning Rashdall's undue structures on the mediaeval subserviency to authority, these extracts form one of the most remarkable tributes to the high value of the work of the mediaeval universities and their deep influence on western civilization.

"For the fairly competent student the main defects of a Mediaeval education may be summed up by saying that it was at once too dogmatic and too disputatious. Of the superstitious adherence to Aristotle or other prescribed authority, sufficient illustrations

have already been given. It is of course, a direct outcome of the intellectual vice of the age—a vice of which the human mind was by no means cured by the Renaissance or the Reformation. It lasted longest where it was most out of place. In the middle of the seventeenth century a Doctor of Medicine was compelled by the English College of Physicians to retract a proposition which he had advanced in opposition to the authority of Aristotle, under threat of imprisonment. It may seem a contradiction to allege that this education by authority was at the same time too controversial. Yet the readiness with which the student was encouraged to dispute the thesis of a prescribed opponent, and the readiness with which he would swear to teach only the system of a prescribed authority, were but opposite sides of the same fundamental defect—the same fatal indifference to facts, the facts of external nature, the facts of history ,and the facts of life. Books were put in the place of things. This is a defect which was certainly not removed by the mere substitution of Classics for Philosophy . . . . . .

But, because it is easy enough to pick holes in the education of the past, it must not for one moment be supposed that the education either of the scholastic or of the ultra-classical period was of little value. Up to a certain point—and this is the one consolation to the educational historian—the value of education is independent either of the intrinsic value or of the practical usefulness of what is taught . . . . . It was emphatically so in the Middle Ages. Kings and Princes found their statesmen and men of business in the Universities—most often, no doubt, among those trained in the practical science of Law, but not invariably so. Talleyrand is said to have asserted that Theologians made the best diplomatists. It was not the wont of the practical man of the Middle Ages to disparage Academic training. The rapid multiplication of Universities during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was largely due to a direct demand for highly educated lawyers and administrators. In a sense the academic discipline of the Middle Ages was too practical. It trained pure intellect, encouraged habits of laborious subtlety, heroic industry, and intense application, while it left uncultivated the imagination, the taste, the sense of beauty, in a word, all the amenities and refinements of the civilized intellect . . . . . .

In criticizing mediaeval culture and education, attention is sometimes too much confined to the Scholastic Philosophy and Theology. The Scholastic Philosophy and Theology do, indeed, represent the highest intellectual development of the period. But they do not represent the most widely diffused or the most practically influential of mediaeval studies. Law was the leading Faculty in by far the greater number of Mediaeval Universities: for a very large proportion of University students the study of Arts, in so far as they pursued it at all, took the place of a modern school rather than of a modern University. From a broad political and social point of view one of the most important results of the Universities was the creation, or at least the enormously increased power and

importance, of the lawyer-class. Great as are the evils which society still owes to lawyers, the lawyer-class has always been a civilizing agency. Their power represents at least the triumph of reason and education over caprice and brute force. Lawyers have moderated or regulated despotism even when they have proved its most willing tools; just as in modern democratic communities their prominence must be looked upon as an important conservative check upon democracy.

Over the greater part of Europe the influence of the Universities meant more than this. It brought with it the increasing modification of legal and political institutions by the Roman law whether directly or through the Canon Law, whether by avowed adoption or by gradual and unconscious infiltration and imitation. This too was a civilizing agency, though here again an increase of civilization had often to be bought by a decline of rude, barbaric liberty.

. . . . . .

It is more directly relative to our subject to examine what have been the effects of the Mediaeval Universities upon our modern educational system. The genius of the Middle Ages showed itself above all in the creation of institutions. The institutions of the Middle Ages are greater—they may prove more imperishable even than its Cathedrals. The University is a distinctly mediaeval institution. By this is implied not merely that in the most altered and the most modern of the Schools so called, there are customs, offices, titles for the explanation of which we must go back to the history of the thirteenth century with its Guild movement, its Cathedral Schools, and especially its great struggle between the Chancellor of Paris and the Society of Masters. The very idea of the institution is essentially Mediaeval, and it is curious to observe how largely that idea still dominates our modern schemes of education."

Questions for Discussion

1—Contrast the length of the period of instruction in a mediaeval and modern university.
2—Contrast the mediaeval and modern organization of universities.
3—Which of the mediaeval faculties has expanded most in modern times? How do you account for this expansion?
4—In what respect is a modern university most different from a mediaeval university?
5—Contrast the rise of the early mediaeval and early American universities.
6—What traces, if any, of mediaeval privileges do we find in modern universities?
7—Contrast the courses of study for any one of the professions in a mediaeval and modern university.
8—Account for the absence of laboratory work in the mediaeval university.
9—Compare the civilizing influence of the mediaeval and modern university.

10—What is the extent of the indebtedness of the modern university to the Papacy?
11—Is the modern university more or less democratic than the mediaeval universities?
12—Does the modern university benefit a greater percentage of the population than the mediaeval university?
13—Contrast the libraries of the mediaeval and modern universities.
14—Is the modern university in a position to reproach the mediaeval university for depending too much on books?
15—Contrast the function of the modern and mediaeval college.

SOURCES

There is a wealth of documents bearing on the mediaeval universities which are preserved in the Vatican Library, in university libraries and the archives of states, towns and cities. Some universities have codified and published their own documents as for instance Paris: Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis.

REFERENCES

Azarias, Bro., Essays Educational.
Clark, J., The Care of Books.
Denifle, H., Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400.
Drane, A., Christian Schools and Scholars.
Jebb, R.C., The Work of the Universities for the Nations.
Paulsen, Fr., The German Universities.
Rait, R.S., Life of a Mediaeval University.
Rashdall, H., Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages.
Sheldon, H., Student Life and Customs.
Catholic Encyclopedia, Universities.

SUMMARY

This brief survey of early Christian and mediaeval education has brought out the following points:

I. Christianity introduced a number of new elements in life and education.

a) The religious element. Religion there was in pagan life and education but its influence for good on Greek or Roman was practically negligible. With Christianity, religion, made concrete in the Life and Person of Jesus, becomes the very core of education.

b) With the new religion there came the hope for an eternal life, which resulted in assigning to education as its chief end the turning of the mind of the young towards the spiritual and eternal.

c) Faith became the principle of the inner, spiritual life. Among the ancients such a life, depending as it did on the faculty of reasoning, was possible only for the privileged few and that after a long, weary preparation. With the gift of Faith every Christian receives the seed of a spiritual life which has its source in God and of which all the faculties of man, the understanding included, are but the instruments. Thus, even that highest stage in education, which Plato declared attainable only by the few, is brought within the reach of everyone, irrespective of sex or position in life, or even intellectual attainments.

d) The Christian ideal in education is not so much, as the Greek ideal, a beautiful, harmonious development of man's physical and spiritual nature but rather a complete regeneration of the spirit.

e) Christianity restored to truth the objectivity which it had more or less lost among the pagans. Truth, of whatever kind, has a reality of its own, independently of the mind which receives it. It has its origin and full development in God who is "the measure of all things",—not man, as was taught by the Sophists of old. Thus Christianity emphasizes the objectivity of the subjects to be taught, without however losing sight of their subjective function in furthering the development of man's spiritual life.

f) Christianity gave to human life a new, more serious and deeper significance; it raised the position of woman, it strengthened family ties and hallowed the home; it brought with it the true concept of democracy and educated to it the young nations of the West; it spiritualized art and literature; it built up a harmonious system of theology and philosophy and this in turn exerted a deep and far reaching influence on the development of science.

II. The content of Christian education was to a great extent borrowed from the Greeks and the Romans but had to be adapted to Christian ideals. Greek in the East and Latin in the West became the language of the Church but they had to be modified in order to express the concepts of the new religion. Grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, mathematics, music geography, astronomy and the natural sciences were easily adjusted to the Christian system but the assimilation of literature and philosophy was more difficult. Literature, especially poetry, had to be shorn of many objectionable elements. Plato's philosophy was at first much in favor among Christian thinkers. Its lofty doctrines were considered as coming nearest to the teachings of Christianity. Later on however it was looked upon as one of the most dangerous forms of pagan philosophy.

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

Plato, "The Attic-speaking Moses, was decried as the father of all heresies" and his system was supplanted by that of Aristotle which became the groundwork of scholastic philosophy. Law and medicine were not organized into university subjects until late in the Middle ages. History was from the first a subject of deep interest to the Christians. Christianity, its foundation, its struggles and spread are historical facts suggesting historical research and treatment, and the study of history was furthermore encouraged by the desire to keep the records of the Christian heroes.

III. Christianity organized a system of schools, elementary, secondary and higher, which knowing no distinction of class or nationality and being controlled by the Church, formed a public system of schools in a sense which had never been realized before nor has been since.

IV. The school was but one of the many Christian educative agencies. Through her Sacraments and prayers, her festivals, her ritual and places of worship, through preaching and missions, through the work of her religious congregations, through every social institution, pervaded as it was with the spirit of Christianity, the Church exerted a deep influence on her fold.

INDEX

Aachen, Council of, 102
A B C Shooters, 141
Abelard, 165, 168, 180, 186
Acolytes, 33
Adelphius, 61
Adrian VI, 134
Agricola, Rudolph, 134
Alanus of Lille, 165
Albertus Magnus, 166, 172
Alcuin, 96, 103 ff., 162
Alexander de Villa Dei, 86
Alexander of Hales, 166
Alexandria, 12, 41
Alfarabi, 111
Alfred the Great, 109 ff.
Alkendi, 111
Amaury of Bène, 165
Ambrose, St., 50
Andronicus, 10
Anselm, St., 164
Anthony, St., 67
Antioch, 5, 21, 125
Apollonius, 12
Apologists, 24, 167
Apostles' Work, 21
Apostolic Constitutions, 39
Appian, 11
Apprentice, 157 ff., 189, 194
Arabs, 59, 111
Arianism, 24, 62
Aristotle, 17, 42, 162 ff., 195
Arnobius, 49
Arrian, 11
Artistic revival, 128 ff.
Arystillus, 12
Asceticism, 66, 180 ff.
Asser, 109 ff.
Athanasius, St., 63
Augustine, St., of Hippo, 50 ff., 134, 167
Augustine, St., 62, 82
Averroës, 111, 112
Avicenna, 111, 112

Bacon, Francis, 173
Bacon, Roger, 166, 173 ff.
Bagdad, 111 ff.
Basil, St., 46
Basileiad, 46
Basilica, 128
Bec, Monastery of, 76, 82, 164
Bede, Ven., 85, 88
Benedict, St., of Aniane, 70, 102
Benedict, St., of Nursia, 68
  Rule of, 70
  Educative influence, 72
Berenger, 180
Bernard, of Chartres, 165
Bernard, St., of Clairvaux, 180
Bishops, 33 ff.
Bobbio, Monastery of, 82, 88, 108
Boethius, 84, 162, 165
Bologna, University of, 123, 186, 187, 189
Bonaventura, St., 166, 180
Boniface, St., 62
Brethren of Common Life, 134
Brunetto Latini, 132
  Burgher schools, 141
Bury, Monastery of, 141

Cambridge, University of, 187
Canonesses Regular, 134
Canons Regular, 133
Canterbury, Library of, 82
Capella, Martianus, 83, 105
Capitularies, 99 ff., 152
Cassian, 68
Cassiodorus, 78, 84, 162
Catechetical, method, 58; schools, 41
Catechumenal schools, 38
Cathedral schools, 42, 102 ff., 138 ff.
Catullus, 11
Cenobites, 67 ff.
Châlons, Battle of, 57;
  Council of, 64
Chantry schools, 140
Charlemagne, 92 ff.
Charlemagne's aim, 94;
  Capitularies, 99 ff.;
  Empire, 92
Chivalry, 118 ff.
Christ, teaching of, 27 ff.;
  Work of, 17 ff.
Christian education, 36 ff.;
  Ideals, 37;
  Name, 21
Christianity, Beginnings of, 17 ff.;
  Beyond the Roman frontiers, 61 ff.;
  Impress on the Barbarians, 63 ff.:
  In the Empire, 3;
  Opposition to, 20, 22;
  Propagation of, 19 ff.
Chrodogang, St., 96
Chrysostom, St. John, 47

Church, Constitution of, 33
Cicero, 11
Cimabue, 131
Cistercians, 71
Citeaux, Abbey of, 71, 76
City Life, mediaeval, 126 ff., 119 ff.
Clement of Alexandria, 44 ff.
Clovis, 58, 62
Cluniac reform, 70 ff.
Cluny, 70, 76 ff., 82
College, 191
Columba, St., 62
Columbanus, St., 76, 108
Commerce, Roman, 9;
  Mediaeval, 127, 154
Conceptualism, 164
Constantine, 23, 92
Constantine the African, 114, 185
Constitution, of the Church, 33
Convents, 88 ff.
Corbie, Monastery of, 108
Corpus Juris, 123, 195
Crusades, 124 ff.
Culture, Pagan, 10
Cyril, St., 45, 63

Dante, 132
David of Dinant, 165
Deacons, 33
Decretum Gratiani, 123, 195
Degrees, 194
Denis the Carthusian, 172, 180
Diaconus, Paulus, 95
Diocletian, 23, 67
Dionysius, 179
Dominic, St., 136
Dominicans, 136, 166
Dominici, missi, 95
Donatus, 86
Duns Scotus, 166
Eborius, 61
Efficiency, social, 154 ff.
Einhard, 97, 107 ff.
Ekkehard, 88
Epictetus, 11, 16
Episcopal schools, 42;
  Sees, 34
Erasmus, 134
Eratosthenes, 12
Erigena, Scotus, 109, 162 ff., 168, 180
Euclid, 12, 87
Exorcists, 33

Fabius Pictor, 11
Fathers of the Church, 44 ff.
Feudalism, 115
Flodoard, 88
Francis, St., 135
Franciscans, 135
Fredegis, 162
Friars, 66, 135 ff., 166
Froebel, 179
Fulda, Monastery of, 76, 82, 102, 105, 107 ff.

Galen, 11, 112, 196
Gerbert, Sylvester II, 87, 114, 163
Germanic Settlements, 57 ff.
Gerson, 171, 180
Gilbert de la Porrée, 195
Godfrey of Bouillon, 125
Gothic architecture, 129;
  Language, 62
Gracchi, 11
Grammar schools, 139
Gratian, 123, 186, 195
Greek culture, 11 ff.
Gregory, St., of Nazianzus, 46
Gregory, St., of Nissa, 47
Gregory, St., of Tours, 63
Gregory Thaumaturgus, 42
Gregory, St., the Great, 62, 139
Gregory, St., VII, 122, 124
Groote, 134, 180
Guilds, 150;
  Craft, 164;
  Merchant, 153 ff.;
  Origin, 150 ff.;
  Regulations, 164 ff.
Guild schools, 140 ff., 157

Haymo, 108
Hermit, 67 ff.
Hermann the Dalmatian, 111
Hildegarde, St., 90
Hipparchus, 12
Hippocrates, 196
Holy Roman Empire, 121
Honoratus, St., 68
Horace, 11
Hucbald, 108
Huesca, University of, 187
Hugh of St. Victor, 134, 180
Humbold, von, 173

Industry,
  Mediaeval, 127, 148 ff.;
  Roman, 8 ff.

Instruction,
Catechetical, 38 ff.
Catechumenal, 38;
Elementary, 83, 159 ff.;
Secondary, 83 ff., 98, 139 ff.;
University, 169 ff., 195 ff.
Ireland, Conversion of, 61
Irnerius, 123, 186
Isidore, St., 85, 162

Jerome, St., 49
John, of Salisbury, 165
Joinville, 132
Journeyman, 159, 188, 194
Justin Martyr, 44
Justinian, 123
Juvenal, 11

Kempis, Thomas ā, 134, 180
Knight, 118 ff.

Lactantius, 49
Laeta, 49
Lateran, third Council, 138
Latin, 10, 83, 93
Lecturers, 33
Leo, St., 58
Lerida, University of, 187
Lerins, Monastery of, 68
Liberal arts, 87 ff., 97, 104 ff., 139, 161
Ligugé, Monastery of, 68
Livy, 11
Lorris, Guillaume de, 152
Lombard, Peter, 165, 196
Louis, St., IX, 152, 175
Louis, the Pious, 97, 109
Lucretius, 11
Luitpert, 108
Lupus Servatus, 107
Luxeuil, Monastery of, 76, 108
Lyons, Council of, 64

Marcus Aurelius, 11, 16
Marmoutier, Monastery of, 68
Martel, Charles, 59, 96
Martin, St., of Tours, 68, 76, 82, 104, 109
Master, 157 ff., 194
Meistersingers, 131
Method,
Catechetical, 38, 85, 98
Scholastic, 169 ff.
University, 196
Methodius, St., 63
Meung, Jean de, 132
Minnesingers, 131
Miracle plays, 132 ff.
Mohammedan culture, 11 ff.
Influence on the West, 114 ff.
Mohammedans, 59
Monasticism, and
Arts, 73 ff., 77;
Literary production, 87 ff.;
Preservation of learning, 77 ff.
Monastic libraries, 82;
Schools, 82 ff.
Monte Cassino, Monastery of, 82, 88
Montpellier, University of, 185, 190, 196
Municipia, 143
Mystery plays, 132 ff.
Mysticism, 178 ff.

Naples, University of, 187
Nations in the Universities, 189
Nicaea, Council of, 24
Nicholas of Cusa, 134
Ninian, St., 61
Nisibis, School of, 111
Nominalism, 163 ff.
Notker, 108

Odo, St., 76, 108
Origen, 45
Orléans, Council of, 65;
University of, 189
Ostiaries, 33
Otho I, 121
Ovid, 11
Oxford, University of, 187, 193

Pachomius, St., 68
Padua, University of, 187, 193
Pagan culture, 10 ff.;
Morals, 14 ff.;
Philosophy, 16 ff.;
Religion, 16;
Schools, 12 ff.
Page, education of, 118
Palace, School of the, 95 ff.
Palladius, St., 61
Pantaenus, 41
Paris, University of, 166, 187, 189, 190 ff., 195
Parish schools, 140
Paschal, II, 77
Paschasius, Ratpert, 108

Patrick, St., 61
Paul, St., 21
Paulus Diaconus, 95
Pavia, University of, 187
Pepin, 97 ff.
Peripateticism, 165 ff.
Persecutions, 20 ff.
Peterborough, Monastery of, 82
Peter, Hermit, 125
Peter Lombard, 165, 196
Peter, St., 19 ff., 35
Philo, of Judea, 179
Plato, 179, 202
Plautus, 11
Plotinus, 163, 179
Plutarch, 11
Population, of Roman Empire, 3 ff
Preachers, Order of, 136
Priests, 33
Priscian, 86
Privileges, of the clergy, 35;
Universities, 192
Ptolemy, 11, 12, 87

Quadrivium, 83 ff.
Quintilian, 11

Rabanus Maurus, 105 ff., 162
Raymond of Toledo, 114
Realism, 164 ff.
Reichenau, Monastery of, 82, 102, 107
Reggio, University of, 187
Religion, Christian, 19 ff., 36 ff.;
Pagan, 15 ff.
Remy of Auxerre, 168, 163
Remy, St., of Reims, 58
Restitutus, 61
Richard, of St. Victor, 134, 180
Richer, 88
Riculf, 97
Roman Empire, 3 ff.;
Culture, 10 ff.;
Decline, 55;
Education, 12;
Frontiers, 3;
Government, 7
Romanesque, architecture, 128
Roscelin, 164, 180
Rudolphus, 107
Ruysbroek, John, 180

Salerno, University of, 185, 187
Sallust, 11
Sarracens, see Mohammedans
Scholars, Wandering, 141
Scholasticism, 161 ff.;
Content, 172;
Development 163 ff.;
Estimate of, 176;
Method, 169;
Nature, 167;
Origin, 161
Schools:
Burgher, 141;
Catechetical, 41;
Catechumenal, 38;
Cathedral, 42, 102 ff., 138 ff.;
Chantry, 140;
For externs, 103, 139;
For interns, 103, 139;
Grammar, 139;
Guild, 140;
Monastic, 82 ff., 103, 137;
Of the Palace, 95 ff.;
Pagan, 12 ff.;
Parish, 140;
Song, 139;
Town, 141;
Venture, 141
Scotus, John, see Erigena
Scriptorium, 78
Scriptures, Holy, 42, 81, 97, 139, 196
Seneca, 11, 16
Sententiae, 196
Serfs, 117, 143 ff.
Seven liberal arts, 83 ff., 97, 105 ff., 139, 161, 186
Sic et Non, 196
Slaves, 14, 143
Socrates, 28
Song schools, 139
Sorbonne, 191
Speculum Majus, 175
Squire, education of, 119
Stephen, St., 63
St. Gall, Monastery of, 82, 108
St. Martin of Tours, Monastery of, 68, 76, 82, 104, 109
Strabo, Walafrid, 107
St. Riquier, Monastery of, 82
Studium Generale, 188
St. Victor, Canons and Schools of, 68, 134, 180
Suetonius, 11
Subdeacon, 33
Summa Theologiae, 170, 196
Suzerain, 116
Sylvester II, (Gerbert), 87, 114, 163

Symbolism, 179

Tacitus, 11
Tertullian, 8, 23, 48
Teutons, 59 ff.
Theodulf, 102
Theophilus, 62
Thomas à Kempis, 134, 180
Thomas Aquinas, St., 166 ff., 196
Timocharus, 12
Tours, see St. Martin
Town schools, 141
Trivium, 85
Troubadours, 131
Trouvères, 131

Ulphilas, 62
Universals, 163
Universities, 186 ff.;
  Colleges, 191;
  Degrees, 194;
  Faculties, 190;
  Influence, 197;
  Instruction, 195 ff.;
  Method, 196 ff.;
  Nations, 189;
  Organization, 188;
  Origin, 185;
  Privileges, 192;
Urban II, 77

Vaison, Council of, 140
Varro, 83
Vassal, 116
Venture Schools, 141
Vercello, University of, 193
Villehardouin, 132
Vincent of Beauvais, 166, 175
Virgil, 11

Walafrid Strabo, 107
Walter of St. Victor, 134, 180
Wandering Scholars, 141
Werembert, 108
William of Auvergne, 166
William of Champeaux, 133 ff., 164
William of Couches, 165
William of Occam, 166
Willibrord, St., 62
Woman, and
  Christianity, 42;
  Education of, 88 ff.;
  In pagan society, 15, 42

York, school of, 82, 96, 103

6777
377.89 M16
Marique, Pierre J. vol I
AUTHOR
History of Christian Education
TITLE
6/30
ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY